

Eke ki runga i te waka:

**The use of dominant metaphors by newly-fluent Māori speakers in
historical perspective**

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Abstract

In language revitalisation movements the main impetus and passion is often provided by adults who, as second language speakers, have gained fluency in their heritage language. As parents and teachers these adults often have vital roles in the ongoing transmission of the heritage language. This study is based on interviews with thirty-two Māori adults who have each made a strong commitment to becoming a fluent speaker of Māori. The study posited that the informants would have a strongly-held worldview which enabled them to engage with and maintain a relationship with the Māori language. This worldview is expressed through a range of metaphors, the four most frequent being:

LANGUAGE IS A PATH

LANGUAGE IS A CANOE

LANGUAGE IS FOOD

LANGUAGE LEARNER IS A PLANT

The worldview articulated by these metaphors has a quasi-religious nature and draws on elements of New Age humanism, a connection with Māori culture and ancestors as well as *kaupapa Māori* (Māori-orientated and controlled initiatives). The source domains for these metaphors are traced through a study of various Māori sources from the 19th century through to the present day. This study shows how exploitation of these metaphors has changed throughout this time period leading to their current exploitation by the newly-fluent informants.

The metaphors preferred by the informants were contrasted with the prominent metaphor LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE, the entailments of which were found to be more relevant to the experience of native speakers. The informants' experience also contrasts with the focus of language planners in that the informants are more focussed on how the Māori language is important for them personally than how they contribute to the revitalisation of the Māori language. These findings have implications for the revitalisation of the Māori language and have relevance for other endangered languages.

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List of primary sources

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Government papers and Acts

1987 Māori Language Act – available online at

<http://rangi.knowledge-basket.co.nz/gpacts/public/text/1987/an/176.html>

Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives

British Parliamentary Papers – Colonies: New Zealand, Volume 13 correspondence and other papers relating to New Zealand 1862-64. (1970). Shannon: Irish University Press.

British Parliamentary Papers – Colonies: New Zealand, Volume 14 papers relating to the war in New Zealand 1865-68. (1969). Shannon: Irish University Press.

Periodicals

He taonga te reo : 1995 a celebration of Māori language - published by the Māori Language Commission 1995-1995

Ko te whānau : he taonga te reo o te whānau - published by the Māori Language Commission 1998-2004

Kōkiri paetae - published by the Ministry of Māori Development 1996-2006

Te ao hou - published by the Department of Māori Affairs 1952-1976

Māori newspapers

A searchable database of these newspapers is available online at www.nzdl.org. Publishing information and dates cited below are from the online database and Curnow (2002).

He Kupu Whakamārama - published by the Māori clergy of the Church of England in 1898

Huia Tangata Kotahi - published by the Kotahitanga movement 1893-95

Tākitimu - published by the *Poverty Bay Standard* in 1883

Te Haeata - published by the Wesleyan Native Trust 1859-62

Te Hōkioi - published by the King movement 1862-63

Te Karere o Pōneke - published by the *Wellington Independent* 1857-58

Te Kōpara - published by the Waiapu diocese 1913-21

Te Korimako - published by W.P. Snow 1882-1890

Te Pīpīwharauauroa - published by the Māori clergy of the Church of England 1899-1913

Te Puke Ki Hikurangi - published by the Kotahitanga movement 1897-1913

Te Toa Takitini - published by the Waiapu diocese 1921-32

Te Tiupiri - published by Whanganui Māori 1898-1900

Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri - published by the Hawkes Bay Herald and subsequently the Native Department 1863-71

Te Waka Māori o Aotearoa - published by East Coast Māori in 1884

Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirani - published by the Native Department 1871-77

Te Waka o te Iwi - published by C.O.B. Davis in 1857

Te Wānanga - published by East Coast Māori 1874-78

The Māori Messenger – Te Karere Māori - published by the Native Department 1855-60

Abbreviations

AJHR *Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives*

ART Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa tribal federation

BPP *British Parliamentary Papers*

Det. Determiner

DO Direct Object

GID Graded Intergenerational Dislocation Scale (Fishman 1991: 395)

LWC Language of wider communication

MBC Māori Broadcast Corpus (Boyce 2006)

NMLS National Māori Language Survey (see Te Puni Kōkiri 1998)

RLS Reversing language shift (Fishman 1991)

SUBJ Subject

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis investigates the relationship newly-fluent¹ adult speakers of Māori have with the Māori language and arises from my experience with Māori language revitalisation initiatives, in particular, *kōhanga reo*,² immersion schooling and *wānanga reo*.

I am a Pākehā and began learning Māori language in 1978 at the University of Canterbury, after briefly learning Māori in my home town, Hokitika, from kaumātua Owen Johnston of Ngāti Porou. At the University of Canterbury, under the tutelage of Bill Te Awaroa Nēpia (Ngāti Porou) and Margaret Orbell, I fell in love with the language and completed all the undergraduate papers available. After university and teacher training I taught Māori language at Avonside Girls' High School from 1982 to 1988. At that time the forty-odd girls who attended Te Wai Pounamu Māori Girls' College in Ferry Road attended classes at Avonside and these girls made up the bulk of those in the Māori language classes.

I left Avonside Girls' in 1987 to raise a family, and when my daughter was two years old I decided to enrol her at the *kōhanga reo* closest to my home, situated at Rehua marae. The Kiato Riwai buildings on this marae house one of the first *kōhanga* to be established in the South Island, Te Kōhanga Reo o Rehua.

My daughter and son attended the *kōhanga* daily until they were five and went on to the bilingual units at the nearby primary and intermediate schools. While my children were at *kōhanga* I spent five to ten hours on the premises each week as parent help. Despite my university training in the Māori language, initially I had only basic oral ability in the language. However, I had a sound knowledge of vocabulary and sentence structure which I was able to put into practice and it was then that I was able to use Māori as a language of communication for the first time.

The rule was that only Māori was to be spoken at *kōhanga*. I noticed that, despite the vaunted aims of the *kōhanga* movement, the language environment in our *kōhanga* was largely provided by people such as myself, that is, second language speaking adults. There were a few elders who were occasionally in attendance but most of the day-to-day language transmission was provided by newly-fluent speakers of Māori.

¹ The phrase 'newly-fluent' is used throughout this thesis to describe second-language speakers who have gained a significant measure of fluency in their heritage language. I am obliged to Joyce Silverthorne (personal communication, 4 June 1999) for this apt term.

² There is a glossary of Māori words at the end of the thesis on page 378.

2 Introduction

Initially I wondered whether the linguistic environment at our kōhanga was unusual, perhaps due to the fact that it was located in Christchurch in the South Island, when the majority of the Māori-speaking population was in the North Island. However, as my children left kōhanga to attend the immersion units at St Albans Primary School and, subsequently, Shirley Intermediate School, and I started attending kura reo run throughout the country by the Māori Language Commission, I became increasingly aware that the experience at our kōhanga was not atypical or unrepresentative.

It was these experiences that made me aware of how important the passion and commitment of adult second language speakers of Māori was to the success of language revitalisation efforts in this country. As Christensen (1998: 12) notes, it is this group who ‘is charged with ensuring that their ‘learnt’ language becomes a language ‘transferred’ naturally to the next generation.’

At the same time I noticed that the focus of kōhanga reo and the subsequent schooling initiatives seemed to be on the children who were the new generation of Māori language speakers, and research was increasingly directed in this area. In addition, rhetoric by native speakers and language planners naturally tended to focus on the Māori language itself and the strategies that were needed to ensure the continued vitality of the language. Most of the attention given to adult speakers of the language was in encouraging them to speak Māori as much as possible, especially in the home environment, ‘ka ora, ka ora, ki te kōrerotia!’ ([The Māori language] will survive if it is spoken) (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1992).

This is the background to this research and the reason for its focus on newly-fluent speakers of Māori. I was particularly interested in what motivated these adults to dedicate themselves to becoming fluent speakers of Māori. This study is based on interviews with thirty-two adult second language speakers of Māori who have made a conscious commitment to become as fluent as possible in the language. The interviews, largely conducted in Māori, were based around their experience learning the language and becoming proficient speakers. The interviews were fairly unstructured as I was aware that insights into the informants’ relationship with the Māori language were more likely to be ascertained by indirect rather than direct questioning due to the fact that covert attitudes and beliefs are often stronger motivators than overt attitudes and beliefs (see Harlow 2005). The interviews revealed that the informants used a range of metaphors which gave an insight into their motivation as newly-fluent adult speakers of Māori.

The thesis has two main objectives: firstly, to examine the use of metaphor by the informants and explain the function of these metaphors, and secondly, to investigate the historical evolution of these metaphors in Māori writing, song and speech over the last two centuries.

In order to place the study into context, chapter two gives an account of the language revitalisation situation in New Zealand, paying particular emphasis to the role of adult speakers. Chapter three describes the method undertaken by the study.

In analysing metaphors which use the Māori language as a target domain it was necessary to include discussion of the phrase *he taonga te reo Māori* (the Māori language is a treasure) since this metaphor frequently appears in language revitalisation rhetoric in New Zealand. Chapter four analyses the entailments and history of the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE in New Zealand.

Chapters five to eight analyse metaphors used by the informants to describe their relationship with the Māori language. In each chapter an analysis of how the informants use the metaphor is followed by an historical look at how metaphors with the same source domains have been used by Māori from the 19th century through to the present day. Chapter five examines the LANGUAGE IS A PATH metaphor, while the topic of chapter six is the metaphor LANGUAGE IS A CANOE. Both these metaphors are subsets of the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS A JOURNEY. Chapter seven examines the metaphor LANGUAGE IS FOOD and chapter eight examines metaphors associated with the idea of growth, in particular LANGUAGE LEARNERS ARE PLANTS and LANGUAGE IS A PLANT.

Chapter nine discusses and provides further evidence for two interrelated hypotheses which arise from the metaphor analysis. The first hypothesis is that adult language learners need a powerful rhetoric and worldview to sustain an ongoing commitment to their heritage language. In New Zealand this rhetoric draws on four elements: a quasi-religious worldview, New Age humanism as well as connections with ancestors and *kaupapa Māori* philosophy. The second hypothesis is that the worldview of these adult second language speakers of Māori is based on their experience as individuals. Consequentially their perspective differs markedly to that of native speakers and language planners, as well as to second language learners of languages which have a much smaller number of speakers.

The conclusion in chapter ten offers suggestions for how this information might be useful to language planning at the tribal, national and international levels.

Chapter 2: The Māori language – decline and revitalisation

The aim of this chapter is to provide background and context in order to understand the role of second language speaking adults in Māori language revitalisation initiatives. The chapter begins by describing the background to the shift away from speaking Māori (section 2.1) and then moves on to describing some of the major events in the revitalisation movement from the 1970s onwards. The role of Ngā Tamatoa, a Māori activist group consisting largely of disaffected young Māori, is discussed in section 2.2 and changes in operational policy in the Department of Māori Affairs which led to the introduction of kōhanga reo is the focus of section 2.3. This is followed by a discussion of the role of elites in the Māori language revitalisation movement (section 2.4) and the current focus on intergenerational language transmission (section 2.5). Current statistics on the numbers of speakers of Māori are outlined in section 2.6. along with a discussion on attitudes of adults towards the Māori language. Section 2.7 summarises key points raised in the chapter which highlight the role people like the informants in this study have had, and continue to have, in the revitalisation of the Māori language.

2.1 Decline of the Māori Language

The history of the Māori language and its contact with a language of colonisation, in this case English, parallels the experiences of many endangered languages. The language of the coloniser, after a period of relatively stable diglossia, comes to be seen as a necessary means of advancement in the new culture. A generation of passive bilinguals emerge, followed by generations who do not know the heritage language.³ At some subsequent point, when the extent of language loss is quantified, a move towards language regeneration is begun. This chapter discusses the shift away from Māori as a language of community communication and its subsequent revitalisation. In discussing the language revitalisation movement, which began in the mid-70s, particular focus is given to the key role of second language adults who spearheaded initiatives which we now see as cornerstones to the revitalisation of the language.⁴ This background gives a context to subsequent chapters where the relationship second language speakers have with the Māori language is analysed.

The gradual shift from Māori to English as the language of the home was detailed by Benton (1997) in his analysis of an extensive survey of Māori households undertaken in the mid 1970s by

³ The term ‘heritage language’, like most terms with similar meaning, is somewhat problematic (Van Deusen-Scholl 2003), but is used in this thesis to refer to ‘the language associated with one’s cultural background [which] may or may not be spoken in the home’ (Cho, Cho & Tse 1997: 106).

⁴ For this reason this chapter does not aim to give a comprehensive account of Māori language revitalisation strategies.

6 Background

the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Between 1973 and 1979 members of 6,470 Māori families throughout the North Island (some 33,338 individuals) were surveyed about their knowledge, use and attitudes towards the Māori language.

Benton found that by plotting the birthdate and birthplace of these informants he was able to show approximate dates of when various communities shifted from raising children as Māori speakers to raising them in English. Not surprisingly he found that centres of Māori population closest to larger towns and cities were affected by language shift sooner than remote heartlands. The process begins with children being raised as passive bilinguals (who can understand Māori but who are not able to speak it) then as English only speakers. Figure 2.1 shows the situation for Ngāti Raukawa, a community centred on Levin. This community was one of the first to move to English.

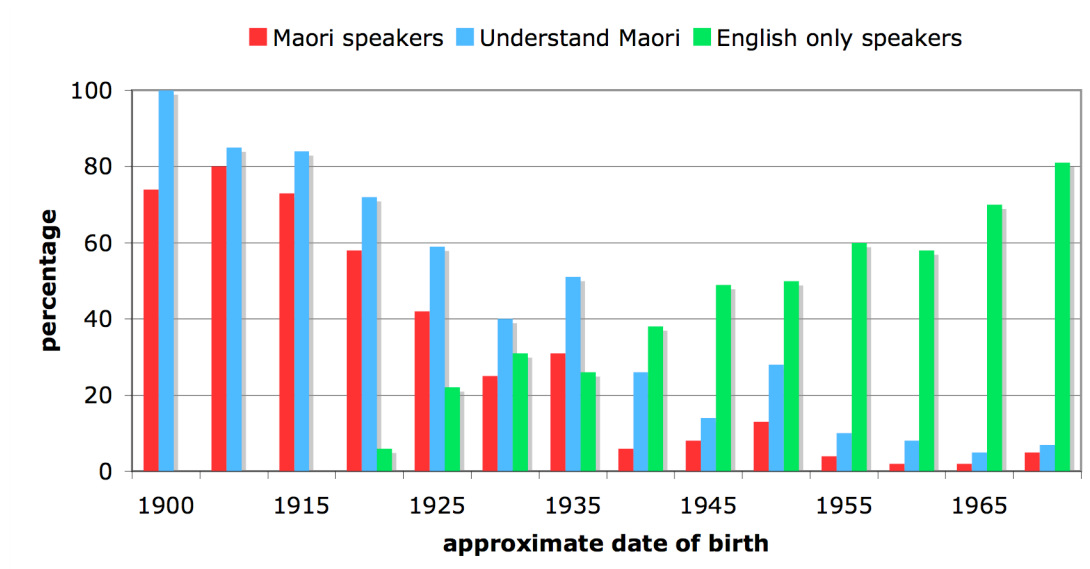


Figure 2.1. Knowledge of English and Māori in Ngāti Raukawa (from Benton 1997: 17).

English only speaking children began appearing in this community about 1920, with 1930 being the cross over point when there were more Māori children being raised as speakers of English than as speakers of Māori.

As Anglophone communities expanded throughout New Zealand the demographics were against maintenance of the Māori language and by 1955 most Māori communities were raising most of their children as speakers of English, with only two small rural communities (Ruātoki and Matawaia) raising most of their children as Māori speakers (Benton 1997: 23).

One of the main prompts for the shift to English was the education system. There are numerous accounts of Māori children being corporally punished for speaking Māori in school (see, for

example Selby 1999; Ranginui Walker 1987: 164-166). The following are two examples, with the first speaker talking about her mother.

As a child her first tongue was Māori, but when she went to school she was smacked for speaking Māori. Her and her siblings quickly learned English and most of them forgot their first tongue (Morgan 2006: 17).

Both of my parents belonged to the generation of Māori who were beaten at school if they spoke Te Reo even though Te Reo was their first language. In fact, my father's mother only knew Te Reo. As a result of that experience, Mum and Dad seldom spoke Te Reo (Hollis 2006: 16).

Initially the Māori language still had a good stronghold in community and household use, despite its unofficial, but generally rigorously enforced, ban in schools. But Benton's research shows that between the 1920s and 1960s Māori children gradually stopped learning to speak Māori. This was because Māori parents were increasingly not speaking Māori to their children in the home environment (Benton 1987: 66).

The reo could have been spoken in the homes if the parents really wanted to - it was never spoken in my home. They wanted the children to converse in English (Waitai Tikao quoted in Calman 2000: 27).

This behaviour was the combination of an internalisation of negative attitudes towards the Māori language advanced by the schooling system coupled with the knowledge that a good grasp of English made it easier for children to secure jobs, especially in prized government departments (Moorfield 1987: 32).

Despite the introduction of Māori arts and crafts into the primary school curriculum in the 1920s and 30s most Māori parents, including Sir Āpirana Ngata, did not see a role for the Māori language at school. Schools were for learning English (Kaa 1987: 56). Māori was, after all, the language of the home.

'Māori parents do not like their children being taught in Māori, even in the Māori schools, as they argue that the children are sent there to learn English and the ways of the English. The language [Māori] should be the language of the home.' (Letter from A. T. Ngata to the Hon. H. Atmore, 19 September 1930, quoted in Barrington and Beaglehole 1974: 206).

This emphasis on English language was in a context where most Māori households were Māori speaking. Ngata's rhetoric on the importance of English was based on the recognition that Māori identity was tied up with Māori language. Because he and other Māori adults had the language and were secure in their environment they could not see pressures on the language which would put it in a position of endangerment (Benton 1987: 65).

During this time there were also many Māori parents who believed that a good knowledge of English was essential to their children obtaining adequate work and status within the now dominant and pervasive Pākehā community. As a result, many Māori parents consciously chose not to speak Māori to their children in the home. Within a couple of generations there were increasingly more Māori who could not speak the language, replicating the three generation pattern of language shift documented amongst migrant communities.⁵

One of my father's brothers upheld the then kaupapa of speaking only in English - it was a conscious decision he made so that his children would be educated and competent in the ways of the Pākehā (Norman 1998: 124).

[Granny said] 'Speak English to that girl. How do you ever expect her to learn at school if you keep speaking Māori to her?' (Nehua 1995: 25).

However, a few years after the quote above, Ngata was to change his views, an indication perhaps of his awareness of increasing numbers of Māori children growing up without the language.

[Ngata] had formerly opposed the teaching of the Māori language in Native schools, believing that there was insufficient time to learn both Māori and English; today, however, he believed nothing was worse than for one to be with Māori features but without his own language. The Māori language was an essential means of communication between Māoris (Belshaw 1939: 26).

Hence the famous phrase attributed to Sir Āpirana Ngata (1874-1951) 'Ki te kore koe e mōhio ki te kōrero Māori ehara koe i te Māori' (If you do not speak Māori you are not Māori)' (Kāretu 1993: 223).⁶

⁵ See, for example, Fishman 1966: 34-50; Clyne 2003: 28. Christensen 2001a: 82 gives references to examples in New Zealand migrant communities.

⁶ There appears to be no primary source reference to this quote from Ngata but it is similar in meaning to the quote in Belshaw 1939: 26 where Ngata is reported as saying that 'the Māori language was an essential means of communication between Māoris.' This sentiment has been repeated by other commentators, usually native speakers (for example, Biggs 1968: 82, H. Williams 1987: 101, Hohaia 2006: 17, Ahuriri-Driscoll 2007: 8 and Reedy as quoted in Waitangi Tribunal 1986: 52).

However, in general, Māori was still the predominant language in most Māori homes until World War II (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998: 15). Those Māori born before 1945 in rural areas were native speakers and could not conceive of a world where Māori could not speak Māori.

After World War II there was little work in the rural areas and families were attracted to the urban areas by the promise of jobs and money. Urbanisation was rapid; in 1956 the majority of Māori (76%) lived in rural areas, but by 1976 most (78%) had moved to towns and cities where they remain to this day. In addition, Māori settled in urban areas in a dispersed way rather than in tight-knit communities, mainly due to government housing policies which sited government housing estates in small clusters throughout the larger urban areas.

This urban shift led to a new generation of young Māori being brought up far away from the marae, the hub of a Māori-speaking community. Young Māori were losing their language and culture. Back in the rural hinterlands Māori-speaking communities were characterised by diglossia, the use of both Māori and English, each language with its own domain, or area of use. Māori was used at home and for Māori matters, and on the marae. English became the language for other affairs, particularly education and commerce.

By the 1970s the main domains for the use of Māori were the marae and the church (Benton 1997: 9). It was in this decade that the seeds of discontent which led to the current Māori language revitalisation movement were sown.

2.2 The Protest Era

It seems ironic, and yet not surprising, that all the efforts being expended in the revival of the language are by those whose loss has been the greatest and who are painfully aware of how great that loss is (Kāretu 1993: 225).

The beginnings of the language revitalisation movement can be traced back to the early 1970s and Māori activist group Ngā Tamatoa. Ngā Tamatoa (the young warriors) was a group of young Māori, the majority of whom were city raised and university educated. As Syd Jackson notes, the group was influenced by civil rights movements worldwide:

We were inspired, of course, by all these amazing things that were happening in the world during that time, you know. We had the independence movements in Africa, we had the development of Black Power, the rise of the Nation of Islam in the United States, the birth of black pride. And young people, I think universally, we were all part of it, really believed that you could bring about revolutionary change, and that, even more importantly, you could do it overnight (Jackson, in Waru 1997).

Ngā Tamatoa is most remembered for its Waitangi Day protests but they also had a strong Māori language and culture focus due to the fact that some of the group were dislocated from their Māori roots, as member Donna Awatere-Huata explains:

You have to lose something before you value it. And where we, we were the first generation that really lost it all. It was the fact that Hana [Jackson] couldn't speak Māori language, her loss, the land loss that we all had, the cultural links that we were all by that stage losing. We were so aware of what we'd lost and in the losing of it was that rage that we didn't want to lose it. We by this stage had what Pākehā said we should have, I mean we were educated, we were hugely intelligent and articulate and we had become assimilated pseudo-Pākehā. And now what have we lost? (Diamond 2001).

On 14 September 1972 Ngā Tamatoa, led by Hana Jackson, presented to parliament a petition signed by over 33,000 New Zealanders lamenting the state of the Māori language and urging the government to provide teacher training to enable the Māori language to be taught in schools. The government agreed to these requests and the date of the petition's presentation to parliament became known and celebrated as Māori Language Day, soon becoming the Māori Language Week that we now celebrate in late July.

It is important to reiterate that this initiative was undertaken by a group of young Māori adults who could not speak Māori.

It took a group of people who didn't speak Māori to put Māori language on to a national agenda and to look at the role of schooling in relation to the suppression of our language as well as its regeneration. It took people who couldn't speak Māori to do that (Linda Tuhiwai Smith, in Diamond 2001).

This genesis of the Māori language revitalisation movement parallels other language revitalisation initiatives elsewhere which have been initiated by those without the language. The phenomenon of young, urban, somewhat culturally dislocated people being the prime movers behind language revitalisation has been commented on with regard to other language loss situations (for instance, Eckert 1983: 299, Timm 1980: 32-33, Bentahila & Davies 1993: 359).

Roland Walker (1993) posited Maslow's hierarchy of needs as a way of explaining the typical scenario of language communities shifting away from an indigenous language towards a language of wider communication (LWC) then subsequently initiating a shift back.

In his study of the Waropen in West Papua, Walker (1993) found a situation which is common in many places around the developing world. A relatively small community of indigenous language speakers (approximately 7,500 in 1983) who lived in a largely subsistence economy were moving towards the language of wider communication (LWC), in this case, Indonesian. This shift was precipitated by economic and educational processes and community members seemed unaware and unconcerned of how their language might be endangered. They had more pressing matters to worry about.

However, Walker subsequently became aware of a group of Waropen living in a large urban area in Indonesia who were becoming interested in making sure their language was passed on to their children and were concerned to retain their language and heritage. Walker realised that Maslow's hierarchy of needs could account for how these two groups of Waropen, living in different situations, could have such differing attitudes towards their language.

Maslow's hierarchy of needs is a theory which explains human behaviour. Depending on what situation a person is in, they will be motivated by differing needs. When one level of needs on the hierarchy is largely satisfied, then needs from the next level of the hierarchy will be the motivating factor. Physiological needs, at the bottom of the hierarchy, are the most important and must be attended to first. Therefore, if we are in a situation where we cannot breathe, or are

thirsty, and so on, all other needs will be subsumed by behaviour designed to satisfy these physiological needs. If physiological needs are satisfied, we can then attend to safety needs. Safety needs cover a range of economic, socio-political and spiritual needs. Walker argues that in the case of the Waropen (and many other indigenous languages) it is economic needs which most often motivate a shift towards a LWC. That is, Maslow's hierarchy can explain the shift away from an indigenous language to a LWC (Figure 2.2).

the language chosen enables the person to ...



Figure 2.2. Roland Walker's representation of Maslow's hierarchy of needs as applied to language use.

The Waropen in the city, however, are motivated by different needs. Their physiological and safety needs are met because they have secure and regular employment. Hence, they are now motivated by belongingness needs, the need to belong to a group. Because these Waropen are a minority ethnic group in the urban environment they are motivated to maintain links with their native language and culture, hence their desire to ensure their language and cultural traditions are passed on to their children. The Waropen situation is similar to that which the Māori faced in the period 1945 to 1975. Motivated by economic needs it was these generations that precipitated the shift to English by moving towards using English as the medium of communication at home.

The language revitalisation movement which began in the 1970s with Ngā Tamatoa, has been largely led by those raised in the cities and alienated from their culture. It was this group who were motivated by belongingness needs to learn the Māori language. Maslow's hierarchy, then, accounts for what did indeed happen in New Zealand. The motivations of Ngā Tamatoa were political. They believed they could change the world. This outward political focus has led to an interesting paradox. Although Ngā Tamatoa fought for Māori language and their actions are seen as a precursor to the more well-known Māori language revitalisation initiatives which have seen

many thousands of Māori adults and children become immersed in the language, many of those Ngā Tamatoa members who were not speakers of Māori have still not become fluent speakers. The following two excerpts come from radio interviews with former Ngā Tamatoa members in 2001.

Paul Diamond: Did you speak Māori back then?

Rāwiri Paratene: No, I still don't speak Māori. It's something I'm sort of really having to look at. I figure that I may go to the grave not speaking Māori, but I figure that my role in all of that was to be one of the people who were fighting, because there's no doubt in my mind that kōhanga reo and the whole revival has a lot to do with Tamatoa, which had a lot to do with other protest movements before it, because, you know, the cliché of 'everything that we've got has been through a fight' is certainly very true.

Paul: And the people in the group in those days, I mean it's striking, not many of them have the reo.

Rāwiri: None of us. People like Tom did, some of the older ones did (Diamond 2001).

Oriwa Barrett-Ohia: I never, ever spent as much time on my own personal reo, although I was brought up with a grandmother who spoke Māori all the time, I don't speak conversational Māori now and I'm getting a bit worried about that, although I spent more time trying to do it for the collective interest (Diamond 2001).

While political activity focused the members of Ngā Tamatoa outwards, their initiatives which arose as a result of their protest gave the opportunity for a generation of Māori who did not speak Māori to become proficient speakers. It is these second language adults who are the focus of this thesis. Their experience was to be a more internally focused one.

The achievements of Ngā Tamatoa with regard to the Māori language, set the scene for the next, and arguably most major, development in Māori language revitalisation.

2.3 ‘Reform from Within’

Mana motuhake, mana Māori!

Māku anō au e kōrero!

Māku anō au e tohutohu!

Māku anō au e whakatika!

Restore my self-respect,

My right to be different, my right to be Māori!

I can speak for myself!

I can advise myself!

I can put my own house in order! (Kāretu 1991: 168).⁷

As many commentators have noted, probably the most influential development in the language revitalisation movement in New Zealand has been the Māori immersion preschool initiative, *kōhanga reo*⁸ (Spolsky 1989: 89, Ranginui Walker 1990: 238). This Māori devised programme has been very successful in raising a new generation of Māori children in the Māori language and has led to the development of follow on Māori immersion education in both state schools and Māori-controlled *kura kaupapa Māori*.⁹ The *kōhanga reo* concept has also been replicated by other endangered indigenous language groups, most notably by the Hawaiians (Wilson & Kamana 2001). Most descriptions of *kōhanga reo* emphasize its role as a language revitalisation initiative although those in charge of the movement have always insisted that it was much more. Discussion of the genesis of the movement is essential for understanding how second language adults have played a large role in the inception and realisation of the movement’s aims and how the outward focused political impetus of *Ngā Tamatoa* became more inward focused.

Kōhanga reo were formed from a radical new direction in the Department of Māori Affairs. In 1977 Kara Puketapu took over the leadership of the Department whose role at the time was to promote ‘the social, cultural and economic well-being of the Māori people’ (Puketapu 1982: 2). But in the face of the reality of the urban situation where Māori unemployment and crime were becoming major issues Puketapu decided that instead of ‘promoting Māori well-being’ the Department needed to take a more active role to empower Māori development. Puketapu gathered senior members of the Department around him and charged them with coming up with a new way of addressing the challenges facing Māori. These senior officials were all native

⁷ From the haka ‘Te Kauanuanu’ composed in 1989, this section proposes a solution to antisocial behaviour such as alcoholism, crime, and physical violence which had become features of Māori urban culture.

⁸ Literally, language nest. Māori language immersion preschools.

⁹ Literally, Māori philosophy school. Māori language immersion schools for year 1-8 children. Follow-on secondary level Māori immersion schools are called *whare kura*, literally, ‘schoolhouse.’

speakers of Māori who had been raised in rural areas. One of them was Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi, who was soon to become the leader of the *kōhanga reo* movement:

We said, from now on don't anybody talk about Māori problems in front of us, we're going to talk about how wonderful it is to be Māori. [John] Rangihau said, 'e *kōrero nei tātou mō te tū tangata o te tangata*' ('we're talking about people standing tall'), and wrote 'tū tangata' on the board. Then, we agreed that, if we could touch the lives of our people in a positive way to say, 'you're okay', we could harness their talents (Tāwhiwhirangi, quoted in Diamond 2003: 97).

The phrase 'Tū Tangata' became the name of the programme under which three *Kōkiri* units were established in the Wellington area: one in Porirua, one in the Hutt Valley and the other in Wellington Central. Each unit worked with the local community to devise programmes in response to community needs. The word *kōkiri* means 'to rush, to charge' and was undoubtedly chosen as being the Māori word closest in meaning to 'development' and promoting the idea of 'advanc[ing] into the twenty-first century' (Ranginui Walker 1990: 237). The programmes each unit offered were of three main types: cultural, social and economic. The basic idea of the *Kōkiri* units was to reverse the usual operating procedure of government departments which implemented policy from the top down. That is, whereas departments usually took government policies and translated them into actions and programmes for the community, in Puketapu's plan *Kōkiri* units would work alongside the community to develop programmes to address community needs: a bottom-up approach.

So in launching its Tū Tangata programme the Department of Māori Affairs has attempted to hold a mirror up to the people, to encourage them to see themselves as they really are and as they could be, and not through the distorting mirrors of other people's stereotypes and assumptions ("What is Tū Tangata?" 1979).

Another revolutionary aspect of the programme was the idea that in addressing unemployment, education and crime, Māori culture and language were not part of the problem but part of the solution. 'What we are saying is that the process should be one of letting "culture be the catalyst"' (Puketapu 1982: 4). Part of the Tū Tangata initiative was to consult with elders to find out what strategies and emphases were needed. Accordingly the Department ran a number of annual strategic hui in Wellington. At the Tū Tangata Wānanga Whakatauirā held in the Legislative Council Chamber at Parliament in October 1981 Māori language became one of the main focuses. Concern about the state of the language, which had been heightened by activist groups such as Ngā Tamatoa, was confirmed by the comprehensive research carried out by Richard Benton which showed that there were only a few pockets left in the country where Māori

could still be described as a community language.¹⁰ The importance of this research as the catalyst for the revitalisation of Māori has been noted elsewhere (Pawley 1989: 16) and cannot be overstated.¹¹

The research we did helped drive home the point that the language wasn't endangered just in Mōtatau or Hiruhārama, but everywhere, and those who cared about it would have to act quickly if they were to be able to change things. It was also very obvious that schools weren't going to be able to change things by themselves (Richard Benton, personal communication, 24 April 1996).

In particular, conference participants were aware of the statement that few, if any, Māori children were being raised as speakers of Māori. While language death is popularly assumed to occur with the demise of the last speaker of a language, some linguists have suggested that languages are already dead when there are no more children learning the language (Krauss 1992: 4). Although it may take fifty or so years from that point on, the death of the language is all but assured when there are no children being raised as native speakers. Not only did the conference make language revitalisation an 'urgent target' (Hayes 1982: 3) the elders came up with a strategy to make it happen – they wanted 'Māori-speaking supervisors to run day-care centres on maraes' (Hayes 1982: 3). Understanding the origins of *kōhanga reo* makes it easy to understand why the first *kōhanga* in Wainuiomata, shown in Figure 2.3 looks more like a training centre than a preschool.



Figure 2.3. Pukeatua Kōkiri Centre 2002.

The entrance to the kōhanga is on the right via the gabled entrance to the second storey.

This building housed a gym and was the centre for other Māori training programmes under the Tū Tangata programme.

¹⁰ Although Benton had not published much of his research at this point, he had presented results to the annual meeting of University teachers of Māori in August 1978 and this information was known to Sir James Hēnare and other leading Māori present at the conference (Richard Benton, personal communication, 24 April 1996).

¹¹ Research has also been a catalyst for language revitalisation in other jurisdictions, for example, with two different dialect groups of the Keres language in New Mexico. Both pueblos formed revitalisation strategies after research revealed the extent of language loss; in 1993 for Eastern Keres (Benjamin et al 1997) and 1997 for Western Keres (Sims 2001).

The first kōhanga was opened in on 13 April 1982 in Pukeatua. The idea of kōhanga reo spread like wildfire with kōhanga opening up on marae, in community halls and even in private homes. By the end of the year there were 107 kōhanga, and three years later, 337. While many kōhanga were set up on marae,¹² this photo illustrates that kōhanga must be understood from their origins as a Māori development initiative. Indeed, kōhanga have been so successful that most people no longer remember the Tū Tangata programme or Kōkiri Units, the only vestige left from these initiatives remaining in the name for the current Ministry of Māori Development, Te Puni Kōkiri. Kōhanga reo remains the flagship outcome of the Tū Tangata initiative (Fleras 1987: 7).

Kōhanga reo were initially funded through the Department of Māori Affairs and after 1990 through the Ministry of Education. In 1982 a trust body, Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, was set up with a head office in Wellington to act as an intermediary body between government and their funding agencies and individual kōhanga. Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi became the Trust's general manager. She was a native speaker from Ngāti Porou with a background in teaching and had been working under Kara Puketapu in the Department of Māori Affairs. She took the Tū Tangata development policy into her management of kōhanga; her uncompromising personality continues to influence this movement which she headed for 20 years before retiring in 2003 (Diamond 2003: 75).

Tāwhiwhirangi has been staunch in maintaining that kōhanga was a Māori development initiative rather than a childcare initiative or solely a language revitalisation initiative. Tāwhiwhirangi took the Tū Tangata philosophy that Māori culture and language were the key to survival and extended it. If Māori culture and language were the key, where was that key? It was inside every Māori. Of course, her model was herself, a native speaking woman brought up in a rural area. Thus the model she brought to kōhanga reo relied upon a good supply of people like herself to be involved with every kōhanga. The reality however was that in most kōhanga in urban areas the most passionate advocates and workers in kōhanga were those adults who had grown up without the language and who were bringing their children along that they might acquire it.

However, while an examination of the background of kōhanga reo reveals its beginnings as a Māori development project its role as a language revitalisation strategy was emphasised.¹³ This emphasis is shown in the Figure 2.4 which shows a diagram which appeared in a 1985 Kōhanga Reo National Trust publication:

¹² In 1987 Kerr (1987: 96) reported that about 52 percent of kōhanga were marae-based, while others were functioning at kōkiri centres, church halls, community halls, schools and other venues.

¹³ The language aspect is a focus for many commentators from within the movement, for example Kerr 1987: 96; Skerrett-White 2003: 8, 12, 76; M. Hōhepa et al 1992: 333.

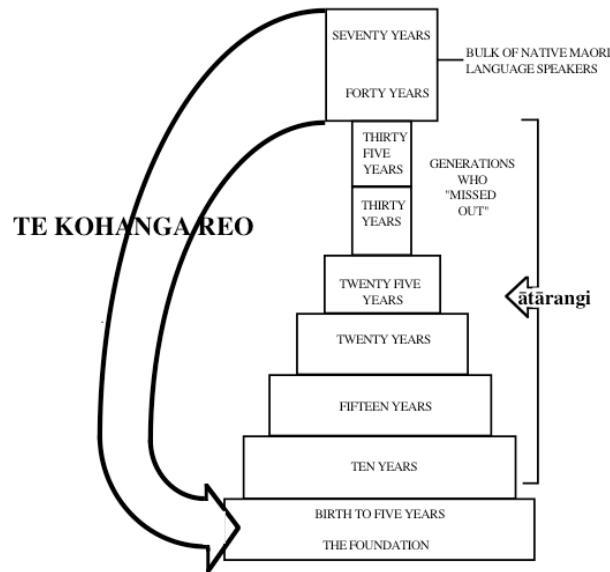


Figure 2.4. Diagram from *Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust 1985: 2*.

This diagram pictures *kōhanga reo* as a vehicle for transmitting the language from older native speakers to the youngest members of the community. In doing so it stresses the importance of native speakers. Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi noted:

As I explained to the people, when I went around the country, ‘all of you fluent speakers are the goldmine to launch this and we need you!’ (Diamond 2003: 101).

Although it is hard to find definitive statistics the most common format in *kōhanga reo* throughout the country is to have second language speakers as the majority of the *kaiako* (teachers) and adults in daily contact with the children. A recent publication revealed that only two out of six *kōhanga* studied had *kaumātua*¹⁴ involvement and many *whānau* were not fluent in Māori and had limited knowledge of Māori customs (Mitchell 2006: 73 & 66). This situation is reinforced by Boyce (1992: 168) who in reporting on Māori language use in Porirua described the *kōhanga reo* in her study area as not being able to consistently provide a total Māori immersion environment.

So while *kuia* and *kaumātua* were an important and integral part of the original concept of *kōhanga reo* much of the thrust and passion has come from the parents of the children, most of whom were second language learners. Accordingly, despite the implication that *kōhanga reo* would consist mainly of older Māori speakers transferring the language to the youngest generation the reality has been that second language speakers (shown in the diagram as being

¹⁴ Literally, elder. The word can variously apply to both genders (as in this usage) or to males only, usually when paired with the word *kuia*, female elder.

catered for in their language learning needs by the Te Ātaarangi programme) constitute the majority of kaiako (teachers).

2.3.1 Te Ātaarangi

Before the kōhanga reo movement begun Katarina Mataira and the late Ngoi Pēwhairangi had designed and implemented a successful language teaching scheme for adults. Both Katarina and Ngoi were native speakers of Māori, and Katarina in particular had extensive experience as a teacher. In 1980 she completed a Masters thesis (Mataira 1980) on the adaptation of the Silent Way system of language teaching devised by Caleb Gattegno (Gattegno 1972, 1976; Cope 1987: 88). The system involves small groups who are taught through the medium of Māori. Students do not use books, instead cuisenaire rods (*rākau*) are used by the teacher to illustrate concepts and sentence patterns. Students listen, look and speak by repeating what the teacher says. The group only advances when all members of the group have complete comprehension.

As Figure 2.4 shows, Te Ātaarangi, which was also being supported by the Department of Māori Affairs, was to work within kōhanga to teach adults the Māori language and was seen as an integral part of the kōhanga reo experience (Benton 1987: 67). Initially the programme spread throughout the country with volunteer instructors conducting teaching sessions in kōhanga reo and private homes. Over the years Te Ātaarangi teaching methods have been incorporated in formal teaching settings in various teaching institutions and in 1999 Te Ātaarangi formed a formal partnership with the Whakatāne-based Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiāraangi to provide qualifications in Māori language and Māori language teaching. Te Ātaarangi remains a popular method of language learning for those involved in kōhanga.

2.3.2 Kōhanga reo

Kōhanga spread like wildfire in the Māori community in the 1980s and early 1990s, the growth peaking in 1993 with 14,027 children attending 809 kōhanga (Figure 2.5).

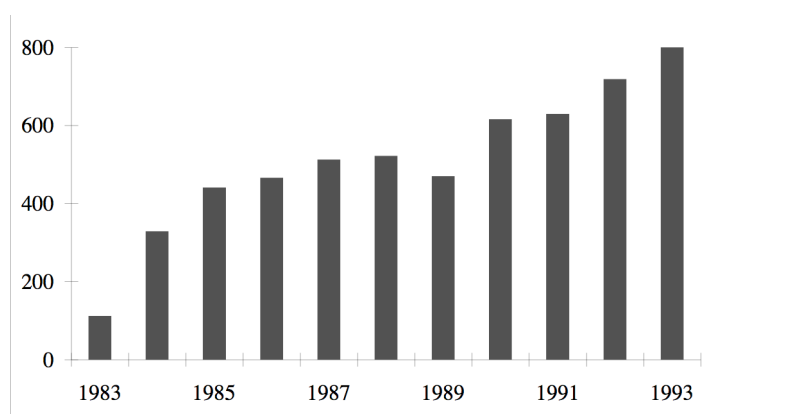


Figure 2.5. Number of kōhanga reo 1983-1993.

Before the advent of kōhanga only about 20% of Māori children were attending preschool, about half the rate of Pākehā children. With the increasing numbers of Māori children attending kōhanga reo¹⁵ they found they were catering for a new group of pre-schoolers who had not been attending other forms of early education. The results can be seen in Figure 2.6 which shows that since the kōhanga reo began Māori participation rates have accelerated at a faster rate than Pākehā. The yellow line shows what the projected increase in Māori enrolments might have been if the kōhanga reo programme had not been implemented.

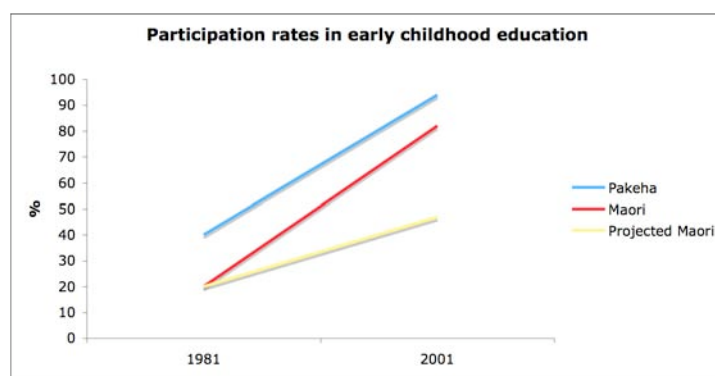


Figure 2.6. Participation rates in early childhood education between 1981 and 2001.

In Benton's research during the 1970s the marae and the church were the two strongest Māori language domains. One of the major successes of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa has been that school is now the second strongest domain for the language, after the marae. In the 1995 National Māori Language Survey (NMLS) 92% of respondents were likely to speak Māori at the marae, followed by 84% at schools and kōhanga reo. The next two strongest domains were the church (70%) and work (67%) (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998: 51).

While some argue that kōhanga reo is a politicised movement (Fleras 1987; Ranginui Walker 1990: 239), its political activity is a practical one focused on negotiating a relationship between Māori communities and the government and its funding authorities, rather than pursuing a politicised agenda. In many ways kōhanga reo fits the criteria of a movement which has been affected by cultural nationalism. Such movements incorporate 'strategies based primarily on changes in individual lifestyle and which are detached from any emphasis on a collective Māori struggle to construct and change aspects of the world we inhabit' (Poata-Smith 1996: 113).¹⁶ That is, kōhanga reo participants do not seem to set their actions in learning the language onto a wider political context. This accords with Poata-Smith's comment that 'the emphasis on the rediscovery of culture came to be the objective of the [cultural nationalism] movement itself and a substitute for practical struggle' (1996: 107).

¹⁵ Māori children account for 99% of children attending kōhanga reo.

¹⁶ See also Greenland 1984 and Sissons 2005: 13 & 77.

Evidence of how cultural nationalism exhibits itself in kōhanga reo can be seen in its characteristic internalised focus which stems from the Tū Tangata approach: this emphasised that answers were to be found *within* Māori culture. This was why Kara Puketapu's 1982 publication explaining the philosophy behind the Tū Tangata programme was entitled 'Reform from Within.' Accordingly, Iritana Tāwhiwhirangi steered kōhanga reo on a course which included as one of its precepts that all kōhanga reo were to be autonomous.¹⁷ Being autonomous for kōhanga meant, at least in theory, that each kōhanga reo was run by the whānau, that is, the group of parents, elders and teachers associated with each kōhanga. This was to ensure accountability and the upskilling of parents who, by taking on administrative roles, would learn new and transferable skills. The practical outcome is a group which consistently looks to itself rather than outside for direction.

A further example is the NZQA registered Whakapakari training programme which the Trust developed in 1992 to train kaiako for kōhanga. Each student completes ten kete (units) covering a range of skills required to be a competent kaiako in kōhanga. Since very little documentation is provided to the student, to complete the work required for each unit the student must research and find the answers themselves by tapping on the skills of the people within their kōhanga. This causes difficulties for many students whose kōhanga lack the knowledge and skills required. As a result the numbers who successfully complete the programme are low (Tracey Wairau, personal communication, 2005).

As shown in Figure 2.5 the late eighties and early nineties were the heyday of kōhanga reo. However, since 1994 there has been a steady decline in the number of kōhanga, as shown in Figure 2.7. Enrolments have dropped 25% from 14,027 in 1993 to 10,600 in 2004.

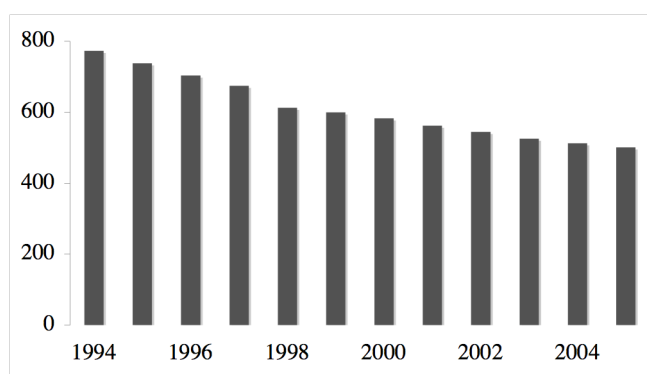


Figure 2.7. Number of kōhanga reo 1994-2005.

Ned Ihaka, the current CEO of Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust, is well aware of the large drop in numbers and feels 'we need to re-excite the passion, value and importance of te reo me ōna

¹⁷ This predates the 1989 Tomorrow's Schools philosophy which applied the same principle more widely to school governance in New Zealand (Lange 1989).

tikanga¹⁸ to our people. We need to convince them that kōhanga is a first option for them. Sadly to say at this point in time, kōhanga is not' (Taumata 2006). This comment reinforces the fact that the success of kōhanga depends upon the adults who choose to send their children to kōhanga reo. But some of these adults seem to be making other choices. Figure 2.8 shows that kōhanga were attracting over half of Māori enrolments in the early childhood education sector until 1997. Since then kōhanga has lost its preferred option status to other early childhood education (ECE) centres. This may be due to a number of reasons including location and hours of service, but there are increasing numbers of Māori immersion centres offering a service similar to kōhanga reo. Some of these centres, including ironically the original kōhanga at Pukeatua, were originally kōhanga which have now decided to leave the movement and receive their funding directly from the Ministry of Education. Many of these immersion centres are attracting middle-class Māori parents for whom the kōhanga imperative of whānau development is no longer relevant. In the words of one former kōhanga worker who now runs a Māori immersion preschool in Christchurch 'we are about child development while kōhanga is about whānau development' (Dyanna Stirling, personal communication, 2002). Even the name of her centre 'Nōku Te Ao' (the world is mine) shows an outward rather than inward focus.

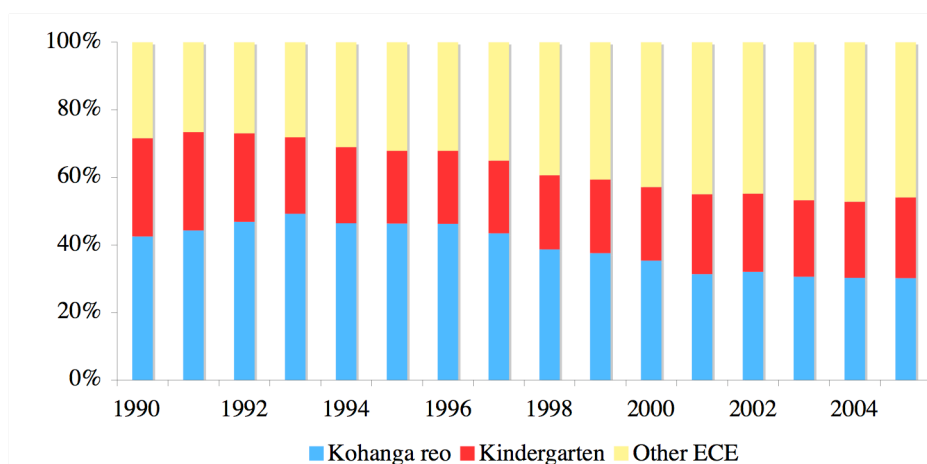


Figure 2.8. The proportion of Māori children attending various pre-school alternatives 1990-2005.

As Figures 2.9 and 2.10 show, families attending kōhanga reo tend to be from lower socio-economic areas compared to those attending these new bilingual and immersion¹⁹ ECE centres (Benton 1986: 69). Figure 2.9 shows that the majority of kōhanga reo (63%) are in the lowest two equity index value brackets (1 & 2) while only 11% attract values of 5 or above.²⁰

¹⁸ Literally, the language and its associated customs.

¹⁹ Under Ministry of Education terminology programmes delivering 12-80% of their curriculum in the medium of Māori are defined as 'bilingual', while those delivering 81-100% are defined as 'immersion.'

²⁰ Each early childhood centre is allocated an equity index based on the socio-economic status of the families using the facility. Values from 1-4 attract subsidies from the Ministry of Education whereas centres allocated values over 5 attract no subsidies.

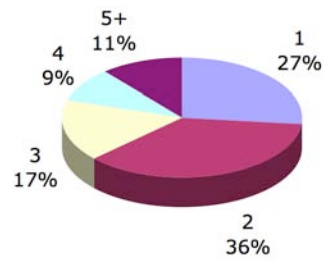


Figure 2.9. Equity index values of 554 kōhanga reo 2006.

In contrast the majority (55%) of the small number of ECE centres providing at least half their instruction in Māori have been allocated equity index values of 4 or higher. Only 10% are in the level 1 band. Although the numbers of centres are small, this certainly suggests that non-kōhanga reo aligned Māori immersion facilities are particularly attractive to middle-class Māori parents.

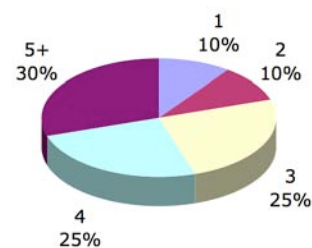


Figure 2.10. Equity index values of 26 ECE centres providing 50-100% immersion 2006.²¹

With the decreasing numbers of kōhanga reo there has also been, over 2004-2006, a 15% increase in those ECE services which provide 12-80% of teaching contact time in Māori.

²¹ Eighty-two percent of children attending the ECE services represented in this diagram are Māori. Ninety-nine percent of children attending kōhanga reo are Māori.

2.4 The role of elites

I mean my uncle made the comment to me, he said, ‘Oh I never thought of your family being Māori ‘cos you’re not poor.’ And I said to him, ‘So does that mean you’re only a real Māori if you’re poor?’ And he goes, ‘Yes, for me that’s what a real Māori is, it’s poor people’ (Mandy).

There are several implications from applying Maslow’s hierarchy of needs to language revitalisation. The first is that while, depending on needs and circumstances, people can be motivated both towards and away from their native language, the situation with the Waropen and Māori and many other indigenous groups show a similar trend. That is, it is economic needs which move speakers away from their native language and belongingness needs that move speakers back to their native language. Maslow’s hierarchy also tells us that needs closest to the bottom of the hierarchy will have more power. That is, economic needs have more power than belongingness needs. In order to be in a position to explore belongingness needs one needs to have a secure financial position with no physiological or safety needs (Ostler 1996: 1). Accordingly, the group in society which is most able to explore belongingness needs are a group of people who are often referred to as ‘elites’ (Fishman et al. 1985: 64; Sissons 2005: 15).²² Two adjectives in particular are commonly used to describe the characteristics of these ‘elites’, that is ‘urban’ and ‘educated.’

The existence and importance of this group in Māori language revitalisation has been acknowledged by inaugural and long-term Māori Language Commissioner Tīmoti Kāretu.

Ko ētahi kei te kī mena he kai tō te puku, he moni tō te pūkoro, he oranga tō te tinana, he pai te noho, ka āhei te tangata ki te whai i te ara tikanga, te ara toi, te ara pūoro engari ina kore, ka warea ki te kimi oranga tinana, ka mahue a oranga wairua, a oranga ngākau, a oranga hinengaro (Kāretu 1998: 2).

Some would argue that only when physical well being and a comfortable lifestyle have been achieved is a person able to pursue the customs and arts of ones people. If not, the burden of ensuring physical needs are met become too great, and completely overshadow one’s spiritual, emotional and intellectual sustenance (Christensen 2001a: 200).

Regardless of whether we use the term ‘elites’ or ‘middle-class’ certainly commentators are aware of a growing group of 30-50 year old Māori, many of whom have university qualifications,

²² In some situations commentators have noted a negative aspect association with the involvement of elites in language revitalisation. For example, see Eckert (1983: 299) for Occitan and Macnamara (1971: 85-6) for Irish.

and the majority of whom work in education or broadcasting, who form the majority of dedicated second language Māori speakers. This perception is confirmed by an analysis of census data. For those of Māori ethnicity, Māori speakers are more likely to have a higher qualification than non-speakers. Figure 2.11 shows that for 2001 33% of Māori speakers had no qualification compared to 40% of non-speakers. Conversely, with regard to tertiary education 8% of Māori speakers had a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to just 5% for non-speakers.

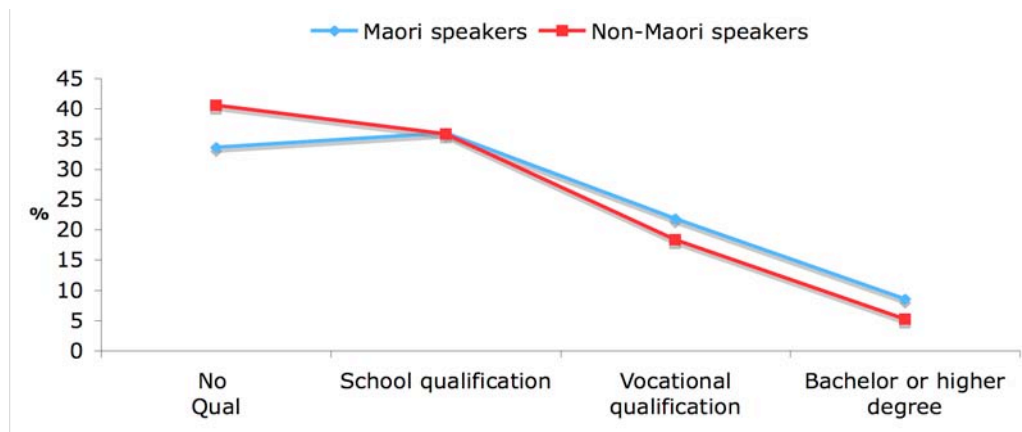


Figure 2.11. Percentage of Māori and non-Māori speakers aged 20-49 by highest qualification, 2001 census.

Similarly results from the 1995 National Māori Language Survey (NMLS) (Figure 2.12) found that those who had completed tertiary training were more likely to speak Māori (65%) than those who had only a school qualification (56%) (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998: 35).

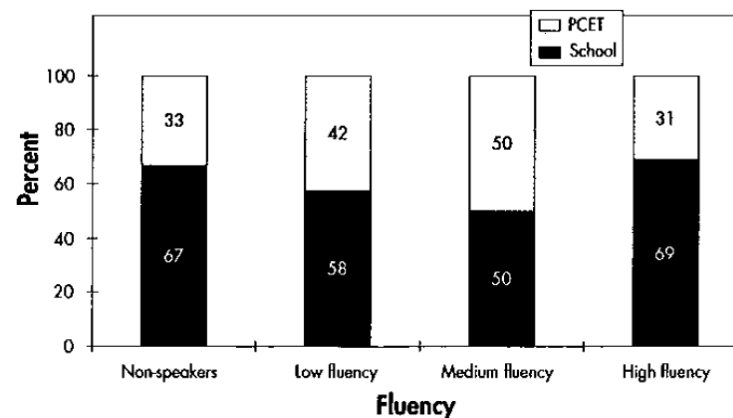


Figure 2.12. Fluency of Māori adults by highest level of education (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998: 35).²³

The proportion of those with tertiary training was greatest amongst the cohort with medium fluency. Many of these speakers are likely to be second language speakers, again indicating that it is a second-language speaking Māori middle-class who are at the fore with regard to the language revitalisation movement.

²³ PCET = Post compulsory education training, including universities, polytechnics, teachers' colleges, where wānanga or private training establishments.

An analysis of 1996 census statistics reveals that while overall 23.7% of the Māori population indicated that they could speak Māori, when speakers are sorted by workplace it shows that 46% of Māori in the teaching profession were speakers of Māori. This was well above the next highest proportion which was 28.7% for Government Administration and Defence (Te Puni Kōkiri n.d.: 17). While the proportions are much higher in the NMLS survey (Figure 2.13), again Māori speaking proficiency is concentrated in the professional and educational sectors.

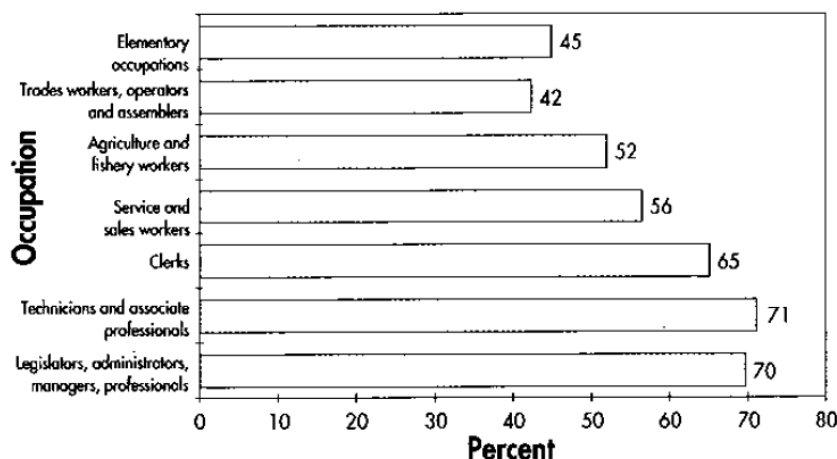


Figure 2.13. Proportion of Māori adults in each occupational group who are Māori speakers (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998: 37).

Thus census data over 1996 and 2001 as well as data from the NMLS show that Māori speakers are more likely to have degree level qualifications and be employed in the education sector than non-speakers of Māori. This reinforces the idea of a Māori middle-class who are involved in the Māori language revitalisation movement. Boyce's work (1992: 155) also shows that the small number of middle-class informants in her study reported higher rates of speaking proficiency in Māori.

There are a number of commentators who are critical of Māori elites being co-opted into government roles of power with no consequent improvement in conditions for working-class Māori (see Poata-Smith 1996, Tremewan 2005 and Rata 2004). However, this sort of debate is beyond the scope of this thesis. The rise of a Māori middle class will be having a measurable effect on Māori society just as the more visible urban migration did a generation before. The main point for our purposes is that there is general agreement on the existence of a growing Māori middle class, many of whom are the stalwarts of the Māori language revitalisation movement and whose importance must not be overlooked (Chrisp 1997b: 15-16).²⁴ Highly educated, professional people always have an influential role to play if they are involved in any form of social movement and the tensions that this can bring are now starting to come to the

²⁴ This section on elites, contained in a draft version supplied by the author was omitted from the published version of this paper (see Chrisp 1997a).

political foreground, as evinced by the following incident that occurred in Māori Language Week 2006. Haami Piripi, CEO of the Māori Language Commission stated on National Radio that ‘people can no longer become Māori leaders if they don’t speak the language’ and that ‘it will become increasingly difficult to face it in a Māori cultural environment without having that skill’ (“Māori leaders,” 2006). In a later bulletin John Tamihere, CEO of the National Urban Māori Authority, who is not a speaker of Māori, responded by saying,

It’s the first honest acknowledgement of an elitist group who are forming to endeavour to attempt to ascribe what a leader can be and what they can’t be. In all things our people will back people on merit, regardless. So, if you stand and deliver, regardless of whether you deliver in the Māori tongue or not it’s better that you deliver for them or not (“Māori leaders” 2006).²⁵

Of interest here is Tamihere’s use of the phrase ‘elitist group’ in association with the ability to speak Māori which reveals an awareness in the Māori community of an increasingly influential Māori middle-class who are passionately committed to Māori language revitalisation.

Putā haere te ihu o Māori

Kei tēnei tuku, kei tērā tuku

Tēnā karangatanga, kua tū he Māori;

Tēnā karangatanga, kua tū he Māori;

The Māori is beginning to succeed

In all walks of life.

This profession, there are Māori;

That calling, there are Māori (Kāretu 1991: 169).²⁶

2.4.1 Te Panekiretanga

There are numerous courses for adult learners of Māori, available through a variety of tertiary and secondary providers. Most are for those at beginners and intermediate levels. To fulfil a need for advanced teaching of the language in 1990 the Māori Language Commission, under its Commissioner Tīmoti Kāretu, began running week-long kura reo²⁷ at various marae around the country. Every year the Commission runs three kura annually in the school holidays. The target group is teachers from kōhanga reo to tertiary institutions as well as those in the broadcast

²⁵ Piripi’s comments were broadcast in the 6.28am bulletin and Tamihere’s in the 8.48am bulletin.

²⁶ From the haka Te Kauanuanu composed in 1989 and first publicly performed at the Māori Festival of Arts held at Waitangi in February 1990.

²⁷ Literally, language school, the term given to wānanga reo (place of higher language learning) run by the Māori Language Commission.

media.²⁸ Each course caters for between 60 and 120 people and since Māori is the only language spoken during the course it is expected that all participants will be intermediate to advanced speakers of Māori. The majority of the eight teachers at each kura are native speakers with a long involvement in teaching, but in more recent years a number of highly proficient second language learners have joined the ranks of the teaching group. From the beginning Kāretu's aims in the kura were to improve the quality of written and spoken Māori with an emphasis on developing vocabulary and correct grammatical structures. The kura also emphasise language development through *kīwaha* (colloquial expressions) and *whakataukī* (proverbs).

It was during these wānanga [that Kāretu] saw the need to establish another group - those that had advanced to a higher competence in the reo and were now expected to lead in oratory and tikanga in their work-place, on their marae, and other places of influence but had no support or avenues within which to obtain a deeper understanding and ability with that which was now expected of them (Television New Zealand n.d.).

In 2004 Kāretu's dream was realised when, under the auspices of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, twenty-five students from around the country were invited and inducted into Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori (The Institute of Excellence in the Māori Language). Participants fly from around the country once a month for an intensive weekend on the Eastern Institute of Technology's campus at Taradale in the Hawke's Bay. The word *panekiretanga* is a compound of *pane* = head and *kire* = topmost part, referring to the very top of the head, therefore, by allusion to the peak of excellence (Epiha 2006). The name is also undoubtedly a reference to the well-known geographical feature on the southern side of Lake Waikaremoana in the Urewera mountain range: the Panekire Bluffs (see Figure 2.14). This name is appropriate in that the three kaiako are Tīmoti Kāretu, Pou Temara and Te Wharehuia Milroy, all native speakers from the Tūhoe tribal area.²⁹



Figure 2.14. The Panekire Bluffs on the southern shoreline of Lake Waikaremoana.

²⁸ One aim of the kura is to improve the language skills of teachers, particularly those in immersion settings, since many are not always fluent in Māori (Keegan 1997: 8).

²⁹ The name was probably supplied by Tīmoti Kāretu, who used the term 'panekiretanga' in an address to the Bilingualism at the Ends of the Earth conference at the University of Waikato in 2000 (Kāretu 2000: 88).

2.5 Intergenerational Language Transmission

'He aha rā kei te tau o taku ate'³⁰

E kore e ora i ngā kōhanga reo,

Te Ātārangi, ngā kura reo rua, ngā whare wānanga

Eaoia mā te kōrero tonu!

Mā te kōrero tonu!

[The Māori language] will not survive because of kōhanga reo,

Te Ātārangi, bilingual schools or universities,

But by being spoken all the time! (Kāretu 1991: 172).

Benton made two points in the late 1970s when he was talking about the results of his survey of the Māori language. The first was that there were only two communities where Māori was still the language of the community, and the other was that there were few children being raised as speakers of the language. While kōhanga reo were conceived as a site for addressing both these issues they, and their concomitant initiative kura kaupapa Māori, have resulted in children's language development becoming the most visible focus of the language revitalisation movement.

Concern about this was raised by Pawley:

Mother tongue command of a language cannot be learned in school; the child must start by hearing and imitating native speakers using the language naturally during his or her early childhood (1989: 17).

Once the kōhanga reo movement was well established by the end of the 1980s commentators were starting to note the importance of the home environment. 'Parents have, as far as the language is concerned, a responsibility to create a Māori "atmosphere" outside Kōhanga hours ... It requires a total commitment' (Stephens 1984: 36).

In 1991 Joshua Fishman produced a highly influential book entitled *Reversing language shift*. In it he outlines an eight point graded intergenerational dislocation scale (GID scale) the purpose which was to provide a means of analysing how far language shift has occurred in any community, and, accordingly, suggests the most appropriate methods to assist in reversing language shift. However, the key point on Fishman's scale is level 6, 'the intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood: the basis of mother tongue transmission' (1991: 395).

³⁰ A ngeri (type of haka) composed in 1987.

Fishman's book contains a chapter on the situation of the Māori language and he concludes that, despite the advent of revitalisation initiatives, particularly in the schooling sector, 'it would be far better to focus meager resources parsimoniously on stage 6' (Fishman 1991: 246).

Jeffrey Waite's *Aotearoa*, a report commissioned by the Ministry of Education and published in 1992, gave a comprehensive outline of the situation with regard to languages in New Zealand. In the section on the Māori language Waite takes up Fishman's exhortation of the importance of the home/community nexus in language revitalisation (1992: 33).

Te Hoe Nuku Roa, a longitudinal study which began in 1994, studied Māori households and included Māori language as one of the areas for analysis (Christensen, Black, Durie, Fitzgerald & Taiapa 1997). Results showed that 'the formal education sector (Kōhanga Reo and school) has replaced the home as the primary source of Māori language acquisition for children' (Christensen 2001b: 21).

At the Māori Language Summit conference hosted by the Māori Language Commission in December 1995 a number of papers focussing on home and community language development were presented (Te Taura Whiri 1996).³¹ But of concern were results from the National Māori Language Survey conducted in the same year which showed that nearly half of those surveyed never spoke Māori at home and only 14% of respondents used Māori on a daily basis (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998: 49).

Since 1995 there has been increasing rhetoric from a number of arenas about the importance of improving the use of Māori in the home. In 1996 and 1997 the Māori Language Commission issued a series of three booklets called *Using te reo Māori in the home* and also between 1998-2004 issued a series entitled *Ko te whānau* aimed at providing easy to read articles (mainly in English) encouraging parental use of Māori in the home. Chrisp, who was working for the Commission, argued that language planners should 'focus on home and community language use' (1997d: 1) and gave an outline of some of the issues that need to be addressed.³²

Since moving to Te Puni Kōkiri, Chrisp's enthusiasm for Fishman's thesis has seen the production of surveys such as *The use of Māori in the family* (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002c) and the booklet *Kei roto i te whare* (Te Puni Kōkiri 2001) which focus on the importance of intergenerational transmission. Recognition of the importance of second language learners in the

³¹ For example, see Shortland 1996, Tobin 1996 and Waho 1996.

³² The four areas being language knowledge, situation, motivation and critical awareness.

intergenerational process is recognised by the two publications *Kei te ako tonu au - strategies for second language learners of te reo Māori* (Stewart and Te Puni Kōkiri 2003) and *Māori language in the community* (Te Puni Kōkiri 2004).

2.5.1 Tribal initiatives

One tribal group that has had a very community orientated focus on tribal and language development is the ART (Te Āti awa, Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa) confederation based around Levin. In 1975, under the leadership of Whatarangi Winiata, the tribal confederation devised a 25 year development strategy aimed at rejuvenating their marae and communities and improving the educational outcomes of their school children (Winiata 1979). The revitalisation of the Māori language was a chief aim of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (Generation 2000) programme whose aims were largely channelled through the development of a tertiary education facility at Levin. Te Wānanga o Raukawa opened in 1981 and pioneered the concept of wānanga reo (language camps for adults) which were soon copied by a range of tribal and educational groups around the country (Nicholson 1990). Wānanga reo are generally held for 3-7 days on a marae and during that time all participants are expected to speak only Māori. Thus they are an initiative aimed at improving the language ability of those who already have at least moderate facility with the language. They also address the importance of intergenerational transmission by normalising the Māori language as a means of communication between adults in a range of everyday settings, thus setting solid patterns which can be applied to home and community situations (J. King 2006).

More recently Ngāi Tahu has taken Fishman's thesis to heart, hosting a visit by him and his wife in June 2000 (Calman 2000). That same year, following the development model of the ART federation, Ngāi Tahu launched a twenty-five year language revitalisation initiative that has the home as the main focus. 'Kotahi Mano Kāika – Kotahi Mano Wawata' (A thousand homes – a thousand dreams) aims to have 1000 Ngāi Tahu Māori speaking homes by 2025.

The current emphasis on the importance of intergenerational transmission is tacit acknowledgement that many kōhanga and kura kaupapa Māori have been unable to fully provide this model, despite the intentions as shown in Figure 2.4 (Christensen 2003: 41-42).

Taking up Fishman's challenge of the importance of the home/community nexus should bring the focus of language revitalisation back upon the group which has been virtually invisible up to now: the second language adult community who are the parents and teachers of the kōhanga reo generation.

2.6 Statistics

Questions on language use have been included in the five-yearly censuses since 1996. Results from the 1996 and 2001 censuses show 25-26% of the Māori population claim to be able to speak conversational Māori.³³ However, these statistics give no measure of how fluent these speakers are.

In the last ten years two surveys on the Māori language were conducted as a follow up to Benton's research in the 1970s with the aim of finding out more about levels of fluency in Māori amongst the Māori population. In 1995 a National Māori Language Survey (NMLS) interviewed 2441 Māori adults over the age of 16. The results showed that while 59% of the Māori population claimed to speak Māori, the majority of these (72%) had a low level of fluency.

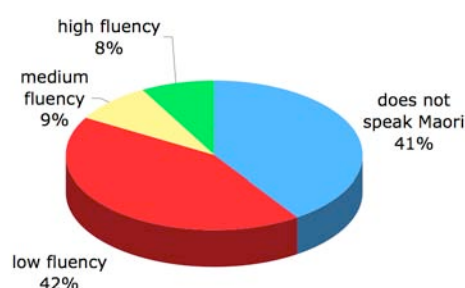


Figure 2.15. *Levels of fluency in Māori, NMLS 1995 (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998).*

A post-census survey conducted by Te Puni Kōkiri in 2001 entitled *The Health of the Māori Language in 2001* surveyed 5000 Māori adults over the age of 15. Results, as shown in Figure 2.16, indicated that 42% of Māori could speak Māori to some extent, but again, the majority of these (80%) had a low level of fluency.

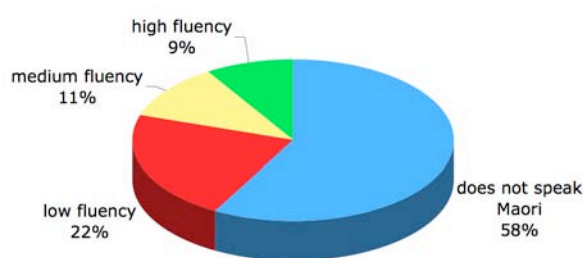


Figure 2.16. *Levels of fluency in Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002b).*

³³ A question about language use has been included in the 1996, 2001 and 2006 censuses. The question reads: In which language(s) could you have a conversation about a lot of everyday things? There are checkboxes for English, Māori, Samoan and New Zealand Sign Language and a place to write in other languages. Of course, this question gives no indication of the level of ability of the speaker. There have been other, more detailed surveys of Māori language ability, notably the 1995 National Māori Language Survey (NMLS) (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998) and the 2001 Health of the Māori Language Survey (Te Puni Kōkiri: 2002b). See J. King 2006: 80 for a discussion on the effects of over and under reporting of language ability in these various surveys.

As Figures 2.15 and 2.16 show, while measures reporting the number of non-speakers or those with only a small degree of knowledge may fluctuate according to the survey parameters, the numbers of speakers with medium or high fluency remain small in number (approximately 65,000). Unsurprisingly, the majority of those with high fluency are 45 years of age or over (73% in the 1995 survey) (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998: 35) and that adult learners of Māori outnumber fluent speakers by fifteen to one (Christensen 2003: 49).

2.6.1 Attitudes

While research conducted as part of various government surveys generally shows positive attitudes towards the Māori language amongst the Māori community, Harlow (2005) raises concerns that these overt positive attitudes may be countered by covert negative attitudes. As evidence of this he cites the results of responses given in the National Māori Language Survey conducted in 1995 (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998). Attitudes of Māori adults were gauged by testing agreement with a range of statements about bilingual speakers and the language itself. Māori adults, whether or not they could speak the language, produced high rates of agreement with statements like those shown in Table 2.1.

Statement	Agreement
A lot more Māori language should be used on television	83
Māori immersion education is a good thing	82
People who speak both Māori and English fluently have a better understanding of Māori culture and heritage	85

Table 2.1. Percentage agreement from Māori adults to statements about bilingualism from the NMLS (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998: 56-7).

In other words, overt statements about the worth of the Māori language elicited high rates of agreement, confirming other studies such as those detailed in Boyce (1992). However, as shown in Table 2.2, respondents disagreed strongly with two other statements in the NMLS:

Statement	Agree	Disagree	Don't know
You need to be bilingual to be truly bicultural	33	51	15
You have to be able to speak Māori to be a real Māori	13	82	5

Table 2.2. Percentage agreement from Māori adults to statements about bilingualism from the NMLS (Te Puni Kōkiri 1998: 57).

The implication of the responses to these two statements reflects a belief that it is possible to be Māori without being able to speak Māori. In other words, Māori identity does not necessarily have a linguistic component. This is in line with the general definition of Māori ethnicity which is along the lines of a 'person descended from a Māori' and does not include any expectation of

being able to speak Māori.³⁴ Unfortunately, the Survey of Attitudes, Values and Beliefs about the Māori Language (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002a) did not use the above two statements in its survey tool so it is not possible to see whether these attitudes are still maintained.

As part of this study I collected responses to these and other statements about the Māori language from my informants and others during 1998-2000. The results shown in Table 2.3 from the 142 respondents are similar to those from the NMLS above.

Statement	Agree	Disagree	Don't know
You need to be bilingual to be truly bicultural	34	47	19
You have to be able to speak Māori to be a real Māori	12	87	1

Table 2.3. Percentage agreement from 142 Māori adults to statements about bilingualism.

Feedback from respondents about the statement ‘you have to be able to speak Māori to be a real Māori’ showed that many found it problematic. Mention was made of the word ‘real’ and caution expressed about making any sort of definitive statement about what a ‘real Māori’ might be. Accordingly, one must be careful in interpreting the high level of disagreement.

In disagreeing with the statement several others turned it around and noted that ‘do you have to be able to speak English to be a real Pākehā?’ or ‘speaking English doesn’t make me a real Pākehā.’³⁵ These comments seem to express the idea that culture is not dependent on language which, if expressed more overtly, is something most of the informants would probably disagree with. A common formulaic expression in Māori is *te reo me ōna tikanga* (the language and its customs). This expression is often used to express the idea that the Māori language cannot be separated from Māori custom. This is another instance of how overt positive statements about the link between language and culture can be assuaged by more covert ideas which state the exact opposite. Underlying this paradox is the linguistic situation in New Zealand which has been described as the most monolingual in the world (Bell and Holmes 1991: 153; Starks 1998). This climate is probably at least partly responsible for these covert attitudes towards the role of language in identity. In other language groups, for example, the Northern Sami (Jernsletten 1993)³⁶ and the Romansch (Ray Harlow, personal communication, 2004), a linguistic component is far more integral to ethnicity.

³⁴ In fact, the definition of Māori ethnicity is slightly more nuanced as revealed in Census statistics. For example, in the 2001 census 604,110 people identified they had Māori ancestry while fewer people (526,281) indicated they were of Māori ethnicity. Therefore there appears to be a social or cultural component to ethnicity in addition to the biological component. Nevertheless, it is still clear that the biological aspect of Māori identity is paramount.

³⁵ These comments came from respondents who filled in questionnaires but who were not interviewed.

³⁶ Available on the internet at <http://www.uit.no/ssweb/dok/Joho/Niillas/1993ucen.html>.

Most respondents agreed that being a Māori was encapsulated in whakapapa. 'If you're looking at it as a race then I suppose genealogy ensures you're Māori, full stop' said Steve. Others said Māori ethnicity came with knowing tikanga.

Mehemea kei roto i tō ngākau, tō whakaponono he Māori koe, kei reira te aroha me te wairua Māori, he Māori koe (Sharon).

If you believe in your heart you are Māori, and you have aroha and a Māori soul, you are Māori.³⁷

A couple of people mentioned the logical conclusion that if only those who could speak Māori were Māori then the numbers of Māori in New Zealand would fall dramatically:

Rua tekau mā ono paiheneti noa iho ngā Māori tūturu kei Aotearoa nei (Anaru).

Only 26% of Māori in New Zealand would be real Māori.

However, while the majority, for whatever reason were reluctant to agree with the statement a number wrote that a knowledge of Māori was important: 'engari, he nui rawa atu te reo' (notwithstanding, [knowing] Māori is very important) and that it was 'extremely difficult to participate in te ao Māori and to have credibility (especially at kaumātua age) if you don't speak te reo.'

My anecdotal impression was that those who did agree with the statement that you had to be able to speak Māori to be a real Māori were more likely to be highly fluent speakers of Māori. One of those interviewed said:

Mena kāore koe i te mārama ki te kōrero i te reo, he aha te take ka karangahia he Māori koe? Gloria

If you can't understand enough to speak Māori, why would you want to call yourself a Māori?

When I pressed some of the interviewees whether they might agree with the statement if it read 'I have to be able to speak Māori to be a real Māori.' However I could only get about four to agree. This probing reveals that, despite any possible difficulties associated with the wording of the statement, even quite committed second language learners on the whole do not see Māori language as being an intrinsic part of their identity as Māori.

³⁷ My translation. All participants have pseudonyms.

2.7 Summary

The present study was motivated by the recognition of the importance of second language speaking adults in Māori language revitalisation, this recognition growing out of my involvement with *kōhanga reo*. While the *kōhanga* I was involved in had a couple of native speakers associated with it, by far the majority of the day-to-day language environment was provided by second language speakers of Māori. This thesis examines the relationship that committed second language learners of Māori have with the Māori language.

So while the goal is community and intergenerational language transmission the focus is on adult to adult transmission and recognition of the important role that second language (L2) adults have in language revitalisation. In New Zealand the focus of language revitalisation appears, at first glance, to be children. Ostensibly, language revitalisation seems to be focused on growing a new generation of young speakers. But the focus on *kōhanga reo* and immersion schooling obscures the fact that it is adults, the great bulk of whom are L2 speakers of Māori, who provide much of the impetus and energy behind language revitalisation, in the form of parents and teachers.

The role of second language speakers as parents and teachers of children in the preschool and schooling systems is often an invisible one. It is these people who are focus of this thesis since

at the present time in the revitalisation of the Māori language ... this generation is charged with ensuring that their 'learnt' language becomes a language 'transferred' naturally to the next generation (Christensen 1998: 12).

Chapter 3: Method

This chapter gives details about why and how informants were selected to participate in this study and an overview of their demographic details (section 3.1). Section 3.2 describes the method of analysis. Formatting conventions used in presentation of data are explained in section 3.3 while section 3.4 gives a background to aspects of metaphor theory relevant to this study.

3.1 Informants

Much of the visible focus of the Māori language revitalisation movement has been on the education of children in the Māori language through the development of *kōhanga reo*, *kura kaupapa Māori* and bilingual and immersion units in mainstream schools. Indeed, to date, much of the research on language revitalisation initiatives in New Zealand has focused on these schooling initiatives. However, as noted in section 2.3, most of the thrust and passion for these initiatives has come from the parents of these children, most of whom are second language learners of Māori.

This study is based on interviews conducted with thirty-two adult second language speakers of Māori and examines the metaphors they use to describe their relationship with the Māori language. All the informants have been learning the language for a number of years and are proficient speakers of Māori.

The experience of adult fluent second language speakers of Māori is different to many Māori of preceding and succeeding generations. They belong to an in-between generation who did not have the opportunity of growing up in a Māori language environment. The informants are younger than the majority of native speakers who are now aged 50 years or over who grew up in Māori speaking homes and communities and they are older than the first generation of *kōhanga reo* graduates who have had access to the Māori language in a schooling situation. For the older native speaking generation the Māori language is an intrinsic part of their identity and the upcoming younger generation do not know of a world without Māori immersion education. The experience of this newly-fluent group of speakers of Māori is therefore different and this difference is expressed in the metaphors they use to talk about the Māori language. These metaphors have antecedents in both Māori and Pākehā tradition, but express a different relationship with the language to that of native speakers and those from other endangered language groups.

3.1.1 Selection and recording

The thirty-two informants for this study are all Māori, aged between 19 and 44 at the time they were interviewed, with a mean age of 34 years. There are seventeen male and fifteen female informants. Eighteen were teachers or teacher trainees at the time of interviewing.

Recruiting of informants was undertaken in locations likely to elicit second language learners with a medium to high proficiency in the language. This was because my interest was in people who had made a sustained commitment to the language. This community of speakers is a small one as only about four percent of Māori adults in the 25 to 44 age group speak Māori well or very well (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002b: 21). Some informants were known to the researcher and the rest were recruited using the ‘friend of a friend’ technique (Milroy 1987: 52-56). The informants were recorded between 1997 and 2002.

The equipment used was a Sony TCD8 DAT recorder. This recorder was initially chosen because of its facility to record several hours of conversation without the necessity of changing tapes. The changing of tapes can be a distraction to both interviewer and interviewee. Two lapel microphones were used to record the conversation of both the interviewer and interviewee. The lapel microphones, combined with the digital recording gave excellent recordings even in adverse situations. Many of the recordings were made in public situations and this equipment ensured the best possible result. Most of the interviews were conducted in the Māori language, with only two being conducted in English and a further four in a mixture of English and Māori.

Recordings were made at a number of locations throughout the country. Some informants were recorded at wānanga reo (Māori language immersion camps for adults) in Kaikōura (5 individuals) and Waimārama (3), others at tertiary institutions in Palmerston North (9) and Wellington (5). Other recordings were also made in Hamilton (2) and Christchurch (8).

Recordings were made at a location chosen by the informant. At wānanga reo the recordings were usually made on the marae, or, in one case a nearby café. Those individuals recruited at tertiary institutions were usually recorded in vacant classrooms or common room areas. Eight informants were interviewed in their own homes and six at their place of work. On two occasions two interviewees were interviewed together.³⁸

³⁸ Karihi and Stu were interviewed together at the flat they shared, while Gloria and Te Wairere were interviewed together in the *whare kai* (dining room) at the Māori immersion teacher training course they were attending.

The interviews ranged in length from 16 minutes to 137 minutes, with a mean of 56 minutes. The interviews were unstructured but generally followed the following format, with questions concerning:

- the informant's childhood: location, language and cultural environment
- the informant's schooling and when they started to learn the Māori language
- the informant's formal and informal learning of the language
- regular domains in which they use Māori
- their reasons for learning the Māori language
- aspects which have helped or hindered their learning of Māori
- how they perceive themselves in relation to the Māori language and the language revitalisation 'movement.'

Although the focus of this study is the metaphors used by the informants to talk about the Māori language these metaphors were not elicited directly. Rather, through discussion covering the above topics, informants were given a number of opportunities to talk about their relationship with the Māori language, thereby giving opportunities for metaphors to be produced.

The recordings were transferred from DAT to analogue tapes and transcribed by the researcher and research assistants. The transcripts were then examined for the use of metaphors and formulaic phrases used by the informants to talk about the Māori language.

The project was approved by the Human Ethics Committee of the University of Canterbury and each informant was given an information sheet about the project and signed consent forms (see Appendix 1). Information which could be used to identify each informant was kept in a secure place, separate from the DAT and analogue tapes.

A pseudonym was selected for each informant.

3.1.2 Information about the informants

Of the thirty-two informants in this study fifteen were female and seventeen were male. Table 3.1 lists the male and female informants separately in order of ascending age.

Male informants		Female informants	
Pseudonym	Age	Pseudonym	Age
Kyle	19	Pukeora	20
Hēmi	21	Gloria	23
Isaac	26	Te Wairere	23
Piringākau	26	Rachael	26
Te Hata	26	Hinemania	27
Hōhepa	27	Bub	30
Stu	27	Mandy	30
Anaru	28	Hāriata	30
Rewi	28	Ginny	32
Steve	28	Amīria	34
Peter	30	Rau	37
Manaaki	32	Sharon	38
Watson	32 & 34 ³⁹	Lovey	39
David	35	Suzie	early 40s
Karihi	36	Rose	44
Awanui	39		
Poutini	42		

Table 3.1. Pseudonyms, sex and ages of informants.

As shown on the map in Figure 3.1 below, the informants in this study represent all major tribal groups in New Zealand. Due to some informants indicating more than one tribal affiliation the numbers on the map add up to more than 31.

³⁹ Watson was interviewed on two occasions, two years apart.

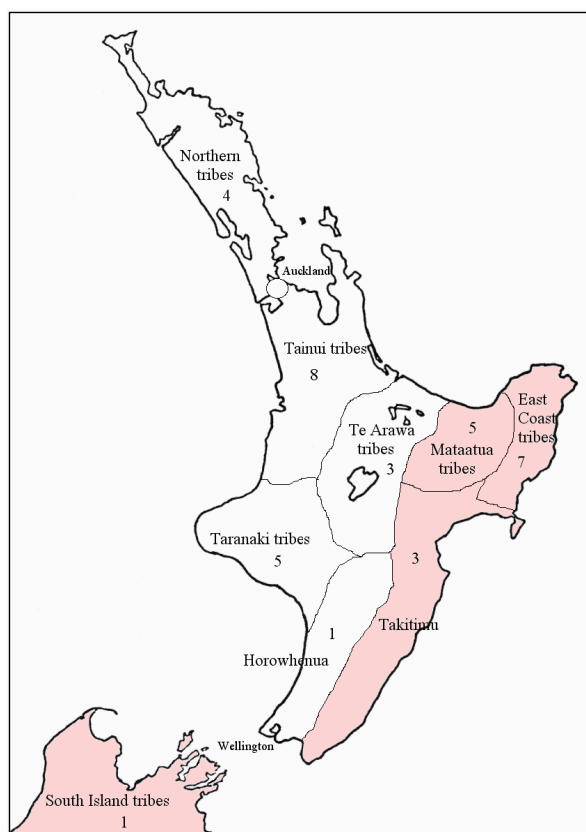


Figure 3.1. Number of informants with affiliations to various tribal areas.

Eastern dialect areas are shown in pink.

Although Figure 3.1 shows the tribal affiliations of the informants it is not reflective of where the informants spent most of their childhood.

Table 3.2 shows the population of the cities and towns where thirty-one of the informants spent the majority of their childhood. The figures given are for 1986, about the time when many of the informants were teenagers. According to a Department of Statistics publication (1990: 15) 83.8% of the total population in New Zealand were living in urban areas (defined as having a population of 1,000 or above) in 1986, this proportion being roughly the same as that of the informant group (81%).⁴⁰ The majority of the informants grew up in the North Island, with only six growing up in the South Island. Census results from 1986 indicate that 74% of the New Zealand population were living in the North Island, compared to 80% of the informants.

One informant, Hinemania, who lived in Australia between the ages of five and twelve, has not been included in the table.

⁴⁰ No figures are available for the proportion of the Māori population residing in urban areas in 1986.

	location	population⁴¹	number of informants
large city	Auckland	809,100	3
	Wellington	321,900	1
	<i>Christchurch</i>	295,000	4
	<i>Dunedin</i>	105,900	1
	Hamilton	101,000	2
city	Palmerston North	66,900	3
small city	<i>Invercargill</i>	52,500	1
	New Plymouth	47,000	1
	Wanganui	40,500	1
	Gisborne	32,000	2
large town	Masterton	20,000	1
	Wainuiomata	18,200	1
	Fielding	12,800	1
town	Ōtaki	4,400	1
	Tūrangi	3,800	1
	Wellsford	1,600	1
small town	Te Kauwhata	900	1
	Piopio	500	1
	Waituhi/Manutuke	<200	2
	Ruātoki	<200	2

Table 3.2. Cities and towns where 31 of the informants grew up, in order of population size 1986 (Department of Statistics 1987). South Island cities are italicised.

3.1.3 Metaphors used by the informants

After the interviews were transcribed they were examined to find examples of metaphors that the informants had used to refer to the Māori language. Table 3.3 shows six metaphors that were produced by the informants in order of frequency. The two most frequently occurring metaphors were LANGUAGE IS A PATH and LANGUAGE IS FOOD, used by nineteen and sixteen informants respectively.

metaphor	number of informants
language is a path	19
language is food	16
language learner is a plant	9
language is a canoe	9
language is water	5
language is a treasure	2

Table 3.3. Metaphors about the Māori language produced by the informants.

⁴¹ Numbers rounded to the nearest 100.

Because the LANGUAGE IS WATER metaphor only occurred five times it was decided not to include it in this study, but it is briefly discussed in section 9.2.1.2. The most infrequent metaphor was the LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE metaphor. Although rarely produced by the informants this metaphor is commonly produced in rhetoric, with the Māori slogan *He Taonga Te Reo*⁴² being the slogan for Māori Language Year in 1995. Chapter four discusses the importance of this metaphor and how its metaphorical entailments do not reflect the situation of the informants, hence accounting for its low frequency in these interviews. The four most frequent metaphors are the topics of chapters five, six, seven and eight.

Not all of the informants used all of the four most frequent metaphors in Table 3.3. Table 3.4 shows how many of these four metaphors each informant used. Nine informants, just over a quarter, used three or four of the metaphors while six informants used none.

Pseudonym	Number	Pseudonym	Number
Karihi	4	Amīria	1
Piringākau	4	Mandy	1
Poutini	4	Hēmi	1
Ginny	3	Hinemania	1
Hāriata	3	Hōhepa	1
Lovey	3	Isaac	1
Sharon	3	Kyle	1
Stu	3	Steve	1
Te Hata	3	Te Wairere	1
Anaru	2	Gloria	0
Awanui	2	Manaaki	0
Bub	2	Pukeora	0
David	2	Rewi	0
Peter	2	Rose	0
Rachael	2	Suzie	0
Rau	2		
Watson	2		

Table 3.4. Number of the four different metaphors used by each informant.

⁴² Literally, ‘the [Māori] language is a treasure.’

3.2 Method of analysis

Chapters four to eight analyse a variety of metaphors found in the Māori language revitalisation literature. Metaphors were chosen for analysis on the basis that they are good examples of formulaic language which can be expressive of a cultural worldview (Dundes 1971). Chapter four focuses on what is arguably the most well-known metaphor about the Māori language, that is, that the Māori language is a treasure (*he taonga te reo*). Analysis of this metaphor and its entailments shows why the LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE metaphor is more suited to the experience of native speakers of the language than the newly-fluent adults who are the subject of this study. This analysis provides a springboard for the analysis in subsequent chapters.

Chapters five to eight examine the four main metaphors used by the informants to talk about their relationship with the Māori language. Chapter five examines the LANGUAGE IS A PATH metaphor, while the topic of chapter six is the metaphor LANGUAGE IS A CANOE. Both these metaphors are subsets of the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS A JOURNEY. Chapter seven examines the metaphor LANGUAGE IS FOOD and chapter eight examines metaphors associated with the idea of growth, in particular LANGUAGE LEARNERS ARE PLANTS and LANGUAGE IS A PLANT.

Chapters five to eight each begin with an analysis and discussion of the form and meaning of the metaphor relating to the Māori language as produced by the informants. An historical approach is then employed to analyse the antecedents to the informants' metaphors, this being achieved by examining the use of each metaphor's source domain from 19th Māori century sources, through to the present day. The diachronic survey of the evolution of these metaphors shows how oral and written tradition change over time and adapt to changing cultural imperatives, including, finally and relevantly, the personal imperatives of the informants.

3.2.1 Historical data

Speakers of the Māori language today are the beneficiaries of the ideas, words, formulae and imagery of previous generations. We are fortunate that we are able to access this rich legacy through a large amount written material that covers 150 years of literacy in the Māori language. These sources facilitate an investigation of how the source domains for the metaphors used by the informants have been used in Māori sources over this time period. The sources that have been chosen are representative of both song and written expression in each time period and allow us to follow the development of metaphorical ideas through to the present day. The following sub-sections outline the Māori sources analysed for the metaphors studied in chapters five to eight and the reasons why each source was chosen.

3.2.1.1 Early 19th century Māori sources

In order to ascertain the possible uses of metaphor in pre-European Māori society it is necessary to access writings which are most likely to have had minimal influence from Pākehā culture. Literacy in Māori was introduced with the missionaries who by 1830 had substantially developed the phonemic orthography we know today (Parkinson 2003: 38).⁴³ Māori literacy rates were high and a rich source of Māori song, myth and other material was recorded, mainly in the second half of the 19th century. For the purposes of this study we need to access material recorded as early as possible because ‘by 1840 Māori life was substantially different from that which Cook saw. All the fullest records were written after this date and were reconstructions of the past derived from the memories of old Māoris’ (J. Smith 1974: 3). Accordingly it was decided to study metaphor used in three forms of sung Māori poetry or *mōteatea* and proverbs. This is because these songs and proverbs are memorised from generation to generation and are most likely to retain format over time.

The songs analysed are from three volumes of Ngata and Te Hurinui’s *Ngā mōteatea* series⁴⁴ and Margaret Orbell’s PhD thesis *Themes and Images in Māori Love Poetry* (1977). Both these publications draw from early recorded sources. Orbell notes that ‘the language of the songs is highly specialised in its grammar and vocabulary’ and that ‘it is formulaic’ (1977: iv). The proverbs were drawn from the 2001 book by Mead and Grove entitled *Ngā pēpeha a ngā tīpuna* which contains proverbs from a comprehensive range of early published sources.⁴⁵

Although the themes of the songs are different to the topics discussed by the informants, the fact that there ‘is a close relationship between patterns of imagery to be found in the poetry, and those which occur more generally in Māori thought and religion’ (Orbell 1977: iv) means that these songs should be a good comparative source. Similarly for proverbs, with Firth (1926b: 268) noting ‘the intimate correlation of the proverb with the life and thought of the native’.

⁴³ The only two features of the modern orthography which were not represented at this time were the digraph *wh* and the marking of long vowels. The distinction between *w* and *wh* was introduced by the Wesleyans in 1841 and the Church Missionary Society in 1844 (see Maclagan and King 2002 for probably reasons for the late acknowledgement of this difference). The marking of long vowels was proposed by Biggs in 1959 and adopted widely subsequent to the Ministry of Education using macrons in its Māori publications from 1960 onwards.

⁴⁴ Ngata 1972 (originally published by the Polynesian Society in 1928) and Ngata and Te Hurinui 1961 and 1980. Pei Te Hurinui is also known as Pei Te Hurinui Jones.

⁴⁵ Acknowledgements to Christine Tremewan for the use of her database which allowed electronic searching of the Mead and Grove proverbs. The database, a copy of earlier version of Mead and Grove’s work contains 3429 proverbs whereas the published book contains fewer (2669). The references in this section are only to proverbs which appear in both the database and the book. That is, some proverbs which appeared in the database but not in the book have been omitted from this discussion.

3.2.1.2 The Māori Bible

The formulation of the Māori alphabet by missionaries by the late 1820s enabled the production of biblical literature in Māori. The missions brought the first printing presses to New Zealand from the 1830s onwards⁴⁶ and these presses were responsible for most of the written material available to Māori for the next thirty years (Williams 1975: vii). The earliest translations generally concentrated on New Testament material with the complete New Testament being produced by the end of 1837 and the complete Old Testament in 1846. The large volume of this material is demonstrated by Ballantyne's estimate that 'there were two New Testaments in circulation for every three Māori in 1845' (2005: 44).

From the 1830s Māori took to literacy with alacrity and it is said that up until the mid 1850s 'the literacy rate in Māori among Māori was higher than the literacy rate in English among the colonists' (Rogers 1998: 183). There are many accounts of missionaries visiting remote areas of the country and finding Māori cognisant of Christian belief and keen to become literate. For example, missionary Benjamin Ashwell noted on a visit through Taupō in 1839 that in all the settlements he visited 'the name of Christ was known; books and teachers were desired' (Tagg 2003: 53).

Accordingly it was decided that an analysis of the Māori Bible, *Te Paipera Tapu*, would be important in tracing the development of these metaphors in the Māori community. Unlike most of the other material used in the historical analysis the material was not generated by Māori themselves as the Bible was a foreign import which was translated into Māori by Pākehā. While the Bible was not produced by Māori, it was produced by Pākehā missionaries who were, despite some arguments to the contrary, very proficient in the language of their new home (Head 2001: 105). The material was also honed by exposure to a literate Māori audience.⁴⁷ Accordingly, the Māori Bible has good credentials as representative of the Māori language of the time it was written. As for the ideas the Bible contained, it is well recognised that Christianity shaped Māori experience of modernity and that the influence of Christianity on Māori thought cannot be underestimated (Head 2005).

The missionaries' insistence on the vernacularisation of Christianity and the productivity of the mission presses created a body of printed material that would

⁴⁶ The first press was brought to New Zealand in 1830 but serious production of Māori material began in 1835 when Colenso arrived in the Bay of Islands. Earlier material was produced in Sydney and Europe (H. W. Williams 1975: viii).

⁴⁷ In addition, the most recent version of the Bible has been checked and revised by native speakers of Māori.

serve as a touchstone for decades to come. Even when some missionaries began to favour teaching Māori English in the mid-1840s and Māori grew increasingly sceptical of missionary intentions as the settler population grew, the Bible remained fundamentally important to Māori communities (Ballantyne 2005: 48).

In particular Christian theology ‘shaped political activism and notions of community’ (Ballantyne 2005: 52) amongst Māori.

Because a study of the whole Māori Bible would be impractical it was decided to follow the format of an analysis of biblical metaphor in the English Bible undertaken by Charteris-Black (2004: 173-217). Charteris-Black studied a number of metaphors in two books each of the Old and New Testaments. He based his work on the King James Version using a web-based searchable bible resource at <http://bible.gospelcom.net/bible> which contains over 50 versions of the Bible in 35 languages, including Māori.⁴⁸

Charteris-Black restricted his analysis of metaphor to two books of the Old Testament (Job and the first 100 Psalms) and two books in the New Testament (Matthew and John). These books were chosen ‘because an initial close examination revealed extensive evidence of metaphor’ (Charteris-Black 2004: 178). These four books are also representative of the wide range of literary forms in the Bible. The Book of Job is representative of the ‘wisdom’ books of the Old Testament such as Proverbs and Ecclesiastes while Psalms is representative of the poetical books such as Proverbs and The Song of Solomon. Matthew and John are the more metaphorically rich of the four gospels. These four books are also some of the most well known texts in both Testaments. The following analysis used the same selection and online database as Charteris-Black’s analysis but included all of the Psalms instead of just the first 100.

Job, the Psalms, Matthew and John were among the earliest books of the Bible translated into Māori. Portions of Matthew and John were first printed from 1827 onwards, Māori versions of the Psalms in 1840 and Job in 1843. In this part of the analysis ‘Old Testament texts’ is taken to mean Job and the Psalms and ‘New Testament texts’ to mean Matthew and John.

The New International Version of the English Bible was chosen to provide translation for the Māori verses because the English in this version is more readily understandable than that used in the King James Version.

⁴⁸ The Māori Bible has been revised a number of times since it was first published, with the last revision taking place in 1950. Some of the alterations involve words analysed in this thesis but as the Māori text is a translation these changes do not affect the metaphors themselves, just the words which express them.

3.2.1.3 Late 19th century Māori sources

The late 19th century was a time of great change in Māori society. By 1850 two generations had passed since missionary settlement in Northland and the second half of the century saw the development of a number of indigenous versions of Christianity.⁴⁹ Political aspirations of Māori were primarily expressed through the development of the Māori King movement during the late 1850s and disputes over the acquisition of land by the settler government lead to a series of land wars between many Māori tribes and British troops.

Five sources of political writings have been selected to analyse the use of metaphor by Māori in the late 19th century. The sources include Māori newspapers and other publications which cover debate in the 1860s about two of the most important issues of the time: the status of the King movement and the land issue in Taranaki which precipitated the Land Wars.

Some of the publications are in Māori, some are in English. The Māori language sources include material from Māori newspapers of the period available through an online searchable database at www.nzdl.org. The second Māori language source consists of political analysis by Māori leader Renata Kawepō in 1860 and 1861. Renata's speech and letter to the Superintendent of Hawke's Bay on the Taranaki War question were published by *The Spectator* with an English translation (Kawepō 1861).

The sources in English include the 1860 *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR)* which contains reports of meetings in the Waikato in 1857 by the resident magistrate Francis Fenton. The topics reported cover the building of court houses and bringing the rule of law to the area as well as views of the chiefs on the King movement. Buddle (1860) contains an English account of political speeches about the King movement held at a number of meetings in the Waikato during April and May 1860. Volumes 13 & 14 from the series of British Parliamentary Papers relating to New Zealand (*BPP*) contain translations of letters from Māori and reports of Māori meetings between 1862 and 1868 relating to the Land Wars (*BPP* 1970 & 1969). Although these three sources report in English only, it is clear that the words are a close translation of the actual Māori and this is confirmed, for example, by the fact that the Reverend Thomas Buddle notes in the introduction to his publication that the translations he supplies are literal (Buddle 1860: 1).

⁴⁹ See Elsmore 2000 for a description of the major movements.

3.2.1.4 Early 20th century Māori sources

Two sources have been selected for analysis of metaphor in early twentieth century Māori writing. They are the correspondence between Sir Āpirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck covering the years 1925 to 1950, and the songs written by Tuini Ngāwai (1910-1965), the foremost Māori composer of the same period.

The Ngata-Buck correspondence consists of 174 letters and is largely in English but has been chosen because of its size (3 volumes, 950 odd pages, Sorrenson 1986, 1987 & 1988) and the wide range of subject matter in the letters between the two men. Sir Āpirana Ngata and Sir Peter Buck were two of the most influential Māori of the first half of the twentieth century. Both had attended Te Aute College and met through their involvement with the Te Aute College Students' Association in the early 1900s when they formed an enduring friendship. Each became well-known in different fields: Ngata in politics and cultural revival, and Buck in anthropology. In 1926 Buck moved overseas and, with the exception of occasional visits back to New Zealand, was to hold various posts in the Pacific Islands and at Yale University for the rest of his life. This separation was fortunate for us in that we have as a result a most interesting correspondence over the following 25 years revealing the thoughts of two very influential men. Although personal friends, due to their responsibilities and interests, the topics often range from linguistics through to anthropology and politics.

Tuini Ngāwai was a well-known Ngāti Porou composer who lived from 1910 to 1965. She was a prolific composer at a time when her relative Sir Āpirana Ngata was leading a cultural renaissance in which *kapa haka*, or Māori cultural performance was highly valued. Ngāwai used well-known Pākehā tunes of the day and composed songs in both Māori and English on a wide range of topics, most notably the war, shearing and Māori culture. She had a strong Christian faith, being described as *he wahine tino kaha ki te whakapono ki te Atua, ā, ki ngā tikanga Māori hoki* (a woman with a very strong faith in God and also in Māori customs) (Pēwhairangi 1985: xxvi).

Many of Ngāwai's songs are still sung throughout the country and her legacy lives on not just through her own songs but also through the compositions of her niece, Ngoi Pēwhairangi who subsequently became a well-known composer in her own right.⁵⁰ Analysis of Ngāwai's songs is made possible by a comprehensive selection of her work edited by Pēwhairangi and published in

⁵⁰ Pēwhairangi is most widely known for composing the first No. 1 hit in the Māori language *Poi E* which, under Dalvanus Prime's arrangement, shot to the top of the hit parade in 1985. She is also the composer of a number of other songs well-known throughout Māoridom. Along with Katerina Mataira she also devised the Te Ātaarangi system of teaching Māori to adults. See section 2.3.1.

1985. Being the foremost composer of her time the songs are representative of concerns and issues during this period.

3.2.1.5 Late 20th century Māori sources

Three sets of sources have been selected to analyse metaphor use in the late twentieth century. They include publications representative of writings about Māori culture, identity and language, the lyrics of songs in Māori, and the Māori Broadcast Corpus. Details of each of these three sources are given in the sub-sections below.

3.2.1.5.1 Writing about Māori culture, identity and language

The Māori renaissance, which began in the 1970s, saw the beginning of a string of publications written by Māori about Māori culture and identity. Five of the publications under study here are collections of essays by prominent Māori about aspects of Māori culture and language. The first of these is *Te ao hurihuri*, edited by Michael King and published in 1975.⁵¹ Both *He mātāpuna* and *Puna wairere* were published by the New Zealand Planning Council in 1979 and 1990 respectively. Also included are writings from Witi Ihimaera's edited collection of non-fiction writings by Māori published in 1993, *Te ao mārama, Vol. 2*, and Ihimaera's edited collection of essays about Māori identity entitled *Growing up Māori* (1998). The fifth source is short essays by former students and teachers at Te Kupenga o te Mātauranga, Māori Studies Department at Palmerston North College of Education, published in 1996 in *He taura tangata* edited by Frances Goulton-Fitzgerald and Ian Christensen.

A publication which focuses on the Māori language is used to give a perspective on how the metaphors under study are utilised when the focus is the Māori language. The 1996 publication *Te hui taumata reo Māori* contains papers and workshop reports from a conference hosted by the Māori Language Commission at the end of Māori Language Year in December 1995 (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1996). Most of the material in the conference proceedings is in Māori. Also included are quotes from an address in Māori given by Tīmoti Kāretu at the Bilingualism at the Ends of the Earth conference held in Hamilton in November 2000 (Kāretu 2000).

⁵¹ First published in 1975 by Hicks Smith & Sons Ltd *Te ao hurihuri* was republished in 1977 by Longman Paul with different pagination. A revised edition was published in 1992 by Reed Books.

3.2.1.5.2 The songs of Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, Southside of Bombay and Dean Hapeta

There have been many Māori songs produced in the second half of the twentieth century as the result of the popular biennial national *kapa haka*⁵² competitions and the burgeoning contemporary Māori music scene. The sources selected for analysis cover these two different genres.

Representative of *kapa haka* are songs from two publications by Tīmoti Kāretu, the first a book published in 1987 containing songs performed by the well-known University of Waikato *kapa haka* group which he led during the 1980s. Many of the compositions in this book are by Kāretu himself and most were composed for performances at national competitions or other important occasions. The themes, suited to the aspirations of the young Māori student performers, often explore issues of Māori identity. The second publication is from a book published in 1991 and explores political comment in Māori song in the previous decade. Both publications supply English translations to the Māori lyrics.

More recent contemporary music is represented by a song entitled 'Kia mau' which was composed by the group Southside of Bombay and Mina Ripia for Māori Language Year⁵³ and by compositions by the rap artist Dean Hapeta (also known as D Word and Te Kupu). Hapeta, formerly of the group Upper Hutt Posse, has followed a career as a soloist in the late 1990s and early 21st century. Lyrics from his CD, *Ko Te Matakahi Kupu (the word which penetrates)* which was released in 2000 (Te Kupu 2000) were obtained from his website.⁵⁴ The CD is unique in that there are two versions, one in Māori and one in English.

3.2.1.5.3 The Māori Broadcast Corpus

The Māori Broadcast Corpus (MBC) consists of over one million words of Māori from radio and television broadcasts recorded off-air by Mary Boyce in 1995-1996 (Boyce 2006). It is designed to be representative of Māori-medium broadcasting at the time of recording and includes news bulletins, informational texts, opinion texts, goods and services notices, continuity announcing and a miscellany of other types of broadcasts. Due to the nature of the corpus most of the speakers recorded were fluent adult speakers of Māori (Boyce 2006: 56).

Because the Māori Language Commission had designated 1995 as *Te Tau o Te Reo Māori* (Māori Language Year) the texts included in the corpus have more reference than usual to the Māori language and this is reflected in the fact that the phrase *te tau o te reo* ([Māori] language year)

⁵² Māori performing arts.

⁵³ Southside of Bombay and Mina Ripia 1999.

⁵⁴ <http://homepages.paradise.net.nz/matakahi/lyrics.html>.

occurs 72 times in the corpus, in a total of 40 (15%) of the 273 texts. The word *reo* with 2996 occurrences was the 57th most frequent word type and the 14th most frequent content word when particles, determiners and pronouns were excluded. In general, the corpus was found to be a good source of metaphor about the Māori language in the form used by the informants.

The corpus is available on CD and searches were undertaken for key words and phrases used in the metaphors under study using a computer programme for PCs called Oxford WordSmith Tools 4.0.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Available online from www.oup.co.uk.

3.3 Formatting conventions

The following sections explain and illustrate conventions that have been used to present data from the informants and from other sources.

3.3.1 The informants' data

For ease of reading comprehension all quotations from interviews with the informants have been regularised for stammers, stutters, elisions, and slips of the tongue. Paralinguistic phenomena such as hesitations, laughter, or throat clearing have also been omitted.

Quotes in Māori from informants are italicised and followed by the pseudonym of the informant. Translations are given in plain text below.

Kāore au e whai ki tētahi 'movement' (Rau).

I'm not following any 'movement.'

Words which represent the use of metaphors under study are bolded to make identification of the metaphors easier. This convention is also applied to data from other sources.

*He **haerenga** māku (Awanui).*

It is a journey for me.

Metaphors in quotes when informants were speaking English are also bolded. This convention is also applied to data from other sources.

Yeah, I do know lots people that have gone through that **pathway** of learning (Mandy).

Occasionally words are added in square brackets to the quotes and/or translations to clarify the context.

*Nā te mea ko ō māua mātua i te whakaaro rātou me **whai i te huarahi** o te tauwiwi, akongia te reo me ērā atu (Stu).*

Because our parents, they thought they should follow the foreigners' path, learn the [English] language and so on.

Words or phrases which have been omitted from the informants' speech are signalled by the use of three dots. Care has been taken to ensure that there is no loss of context as a result.

*I te wā i tīmata au i te mahi ... i te tino kaha au ki te **whai i te reo** (Watson).*

At the time I started work ... I was very determined to follow the language.

Grammatical errors in the speech of these second language learners have not been corrected.

3.3.2 Quotations in Māori

In cases where a Māori quote is used from a source which also gives an English translation the reference is placed at the end of the English translation.

E piki ki runga rā, te ara o Tāwhaki,

Climb up yonder, by the pathway of Tāwhaki (Song 219: 5).

Quotes without an English translation have been supplied with one. In those cases the reference from the original source is placed after the Māori.

E, aru ana tātau ki hea? (Rangihau 1993: 104).

Hey, where are we going?

3.3.3 Early 19th century Māori sources

Section X.2.1 (where X is the number of the chapter) in chapters five to eight analyses *waiata aroha* from Margaret Orbell's PhD thesis *Themes and Images in Māori Love Poetry* (1977). Sections X.2.2 and X.2.3 of each chapter analyse *oriori* and *waiata tangi* respectively. Quotes for these two sections are taken from the three volumes of Ngata and Te Hurinui's *Ngā mōteatea* series. As the songs in both these sources are numbered, it is conventional when quoting from them to refer the number of the song, followed by the line number, as per the following example:

Ka haere tātau i te ara ngāwari,

Let us now go by the easy pathway (Song 209: 72).

Section X.2.4 in chapters five to eight analyses proverbs from the 2001 book by Mead and Grove entitled *Ngā pēpeha a ngā tīpuna* which contains proverbs from a range of early published sources. The reference convention used here is to refer to the number given to each proverb by Mead and Grove in their alphabetical ordering of the proverbs (2001).

Ehara te ara horipū; haere koa i te ara āwhio.

Go by the roundabout route rather than by the direct one (96).

3.3.4 Material from Māori newspapers

Section X.4 of each chapter contains material from a number of 19th century Māori sources, including Māori language newspapers. In order not to clog the references by referring to each item, the bibliographical information is given in the in-text reference. At the end of each quote from a newspaper source the name of the newspaper is given plus the volume number (if applicable), issue number and page number on which the quote appears. The year of publication

and author is also mentioned in the text leading up to the quote as this example written in 1859 by Kipa Ngamoke.

*Whakarongo mai e te rūnanga a te Atiawa ki **taku huarahi** e haere nei au, i **ahu** mai i te Atua (Te Haeata, 1(4), 3).*

Listen here, Te Atiawa council, to my path that I am travelling on, it comes from God.

As with other sources, quotes without an English translation have been supplied with one. Where an English translation has been used the source for this is given after the translation.

*Haere, e te raukura o Ngāti Porou, ka ngaro koe i ō marae e **hautū** ai koe i te **waka** a tō tipuna a Tūteihonga (He Kupu Whakamārama, 24, 12).*

Farewell, the plume of Ngāti Porou, you will no longer be seen on the *marae* where you were the leader of the canoe of your ancestor, Tūteihonga (Kāretu 2002: 4).

3.3.5 The songs of Tuini Ngāwai

Section X.5.2 of chapters five to eight examines metaphor use in the songs composed by Tuini Ngāwai. The quotations are from a book containing the lyrics to her songs compiled by her niece Ngoi Pēwhairangi (Pēwhairangi 1985). References here follow the format of the name of the song followed by the page number in the publication.

*Kia ora e **ngā waka** o te motu e (‘Tō Karere ki Ahau E’: 11).*

Greetings to the canoes of the island.

When the reference follows the English translation this indicates that the translation is from Pēwhairangi.

*Ko **taku waka** he rangimārie,*

The canoe I am piloting is peace (‘Ko Taku Waka’: 90).

3.3.6 The Māori Broadcast Corpus

Section X.6.3 of chapters five to eight analyses quotes from the Māori Broadcast Corpus. Formatting for these quotes follow the convention used by Boyce in her thesis: that is, to refer to the three digit code allocated to each of the 273 text files, as per the following example (Boyce 2006:82).

*Haere rā koutou, haere. Haere i **runga i te ara i takahia** e ngā tūpuna (mbc109).*

Farewell to you all, go. Go along the path trodden by the ancestors.

In accordance with the way Boyce herself has chosen to present data from her corpus (Boyce, personal communication, 24 January 2007), I have not identified speakers or those referred to by them.

3.3.7 Macrons

Macrons have been used to mark long vowels in the Māori and English text following the conventions of H. W. Williams (1971) and Moorfield (2005). In order to maintain a measure of consistency macrons have been added to texts, such as the Māori newspapers, which were printed before macronning was introduced.

3.3.8 Conceptual Metaphors

Following the convention established by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) conceptual metaphors such as LANGUAGE IS A CANOE are capitalised.

3.4 Metaphor theory

Traditionally the study of metaphor has been the territory of philosophy and literary criticism where it has often been regarded as decorative but unnecessary part of our linguistic repertoire. Conceptual metaphor theory, advanced by Lakoff and Johnson in their seminal book *Metaphors we live by* (1980), put forward the hypothesis that metaphors were a much more pervasive part of language than was previously recognised, and far from being a poetic adornment to speech, metaphors and the concepts they represented, were a much more formative part of our linguistic performance. In exploring the role metaphors play in everyday language Lakoff and Johnson found that many metaphors that we would often be unaware of seemed to provide a conceptual underpinning to the world we experience. For example, most speakers would not be aware that when they use the phrases ‘talking to her gave me a *lift*’ and ‘my spirits *rose*’ that they are using metaphors. Both of these are examples of the conceptual metaphor HAPPY IS UP which is related to a number of other conceptual metaphors such as GOOD IS UP (‘things are looking *up*’) and VIRTUE IS UP (‘she is *high-minded*’). Lakoff and Johnson’s book explored aspects of metaphors like these which appear to underpin our perception of the world. Using their terminology, each conceptual metaphor consists of two conceptual fields: that of a source domain and that of a target domain. In this case of the conceptual metaphor HAPPY IS UP the source domain ‘up’, expressed in the examples above by the words ‘lift’ and ‘rose’, describes the target domain, happiness.

Metaphors map the conceptual fields in the source and target domains. However, as Kövecses (2002: 79) notes, this mapping is only partial, in that typically not all aspects of a source domain are used to talk about a target domain. Because of the differing range of entailments available with each source domain it is often the case that one target domain can be expressed by a number of different source domains. For example, the target domain ‘life’ can be described by a range of source domains, as demonstrated in the following list, which is not exhaustive.

Conceptual metaphor	example
LIFE IS A BUILDING	<i>Her life is in ruins</i>
LIFE IS A GAMBLING GAME	<i>The odds are against him</i>
LIFE IS A JOURNEY	<i>He’s come a long way</i>

Because each of the source domains reflects only a partial mapping on to the target domain this means that when choosing a metaphor to talk about, in this case, life, we will draw our image from a source domain where the mapping between the source and target domains coincides with the aspect we wish to highlight. Thus the use of a particular source domain allows us to highlight certain aspects that are germane to the meaning we are wanting to convey.

Aspects of Lakoff and Johnson's analysis seem to suggest that metaphors shape our understanding of the world but further experiments and analysis have questioned this. Quinn (1991: 87) for example, provides convincing analysis that 'the speaker has the reasoning he wants to do in mind independently of the metaphors in which he casts it.' In other words, meaning is paramount. Support for this analysis is provided by the fact that some metaphoric expressions have become almost clichéd in their use, indicating that they can be somewhat formulaic and readily called on when talking about a particular topic. It seems clear that these units are processed and assigned meaning as a whole, in line with Alison Wray's 'needs only analysis' of formulaic speech (Wray 2002).

Lakoff and Johnson's work on conceptual metaphor has been extended in recent years through a number of studies based on naturally occurring data (see for example Cameron and Low 1999). These studies, like the present one, produce case studies which are more 'person-oriented (and at times social-group-oriented) rather than system-oriented' (Cameron and Low 1999: xiii).

In light of the above points, the present study aims to analyse what newly-fluent adult speakers of Māori mean when they use certain metaphors with reference to the Māori language. This meaning is revealed through an analysis of the entailments and connotations contained in the words chosen to express the particular metaphor. For example, the basic meaning of the phrase *whai i te huarahi* (following the path) in the following sentence is that the speaker and his friend ensured that they were in a position to be able to learn Māori.

Ka whai māua i te huarahi o te reo Māori me ngā tikanga (Stu).

He and I follow the path of Māori language and culture.

In choosing to talk about 'following a path' rather than, say, 'reaching a destination' the speaker evokes entailments in this particular source domain which place emphasis on the ongoing nature of his experience. Commonly used metaphors can also accrue an accepted and understood range of connotations which are evoked when used. The idea of 'following a path' in the above example includes connotations of being part of a whole worldview, that is, 'following a philosophy.' Thus using metaphors in this way allows the speaker to key into shared experience and a worldview shared with the listener because 'the history of [the metaphor's] application makes it already freighted with meaning' (Soskice 1985: 158). Thus, an analysis of the entailments and connotations of the metaphors used with regard to Māori language revitalisation will allow us to more clearly understand what is meant when a particular metaphor is used.

The study of metaphor has similarities to the study of proverbs. Indeed, many proverbs have a metaphor at their core. For example, the proverb *too many cooks spoil the broth* uses the conceptual metaphor WORKING TOGETHER IS COOKING A MEAL. Just as proverbs can be used to justify attitudes to behaviour (for example, see Mieder 1997), the informants in this study use metaphor to explain and justify their attitudes and behaviour with respect to the Māori language.

The present study is also based on the idea that '[metaphor] works especially well in times of great change, disorder, or disjunction (Popper & Popper 1999: 498). Thus we expect that the informants will use metaphor to talk about their situation as newly-fluent speakers of Māori since, for most of them, their engagement with the language has involved a conscious decision resulting in change in their lives. In addition, in the wider societal context, there has been great change in the past twenty years centered on Māori language revitalisation initiatives.

In line with Flyvbjerg's contention (Flyvbjerg 2001) this study also aims to produce 'phronetic social science.'

Phronetic research focuses on the dynamic question, 'How?' in addition to the more structural 'Why?'. It is concerned with both *verstehen* (understanding) and *erklären* (explanation) (Flyvbjerg 2001: 136).

In order to understand how newly-fluent adult speakers of Māori relate to the Māori language the aim has been to access less overt attitudes and behaviours the informants have towards the language by giving them opportunities in a relatively unstructured recorded interview to produce metaphors which describe this relationship. In order to analyse why the informants prefer to use certain metaphoric source domains rather than others the metaphors are analysed in a conceptual metaphor framework, based on the idea that these metaphors have meaning which can be ascertained by examining the entailments and connotations of the words they use to express these metaphors. An historical analysis of the source domains of these metaphors confirms that modern speakers are the inheritors of a rich tradition of using these metaphoric source domains to talk about important aspects of relevant social conditions. In this way these metaphors seem to serve a similar function to motifs which recur in Māori prose narrative (Harlow 2000). Thus, this analysis allows us to properly contextualise the experience of this group of informants to counter ideas that 'the[se] metaphors ... come from very recent times' (Te Wharehuia Milroy, personal communication, 14 May 2001).

Chapter 4: *He taonga te reo* – language as a treasure

This chapter analyses the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE, a metaphor prominent in contemporary Māori language revitalisation rhetoric. The basic image behind the metaphor, LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT, is examined in section 4.1. The historical development of this metaphor is discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.3, while the entailments of the LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT metaphor are discussed in section 4.4. An alternative metaphor, LANGUAGE AS A LIFE ESSENCE, which has arisen in response to the LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE metaphor, is discussed in section 4.5. The discussion in section 4.6 focuses on why the LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE metaphor has more appeal for native speakers of Māori than the newly-fluent adult speakers who are the subject of this thesis.

4.1 Language as an object

He taonga te reo (Māori language is a treasure). This adage has achieved prominence in Māori rhetoric and song in recent years, particularly since its enshrinement in New Zealand law in the 1987 Māori Language Act. The preamble to this Act states that Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi ‘confirmed and guaranteed to the Māori people, among other things, all their taonga’ and that ‘the Māori language is one such taonga.’⁵⁶ The Māori Language Act instituted a Māori Language Commission (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori) which has taken the sentiment enshrined in its founding Act and promulgated it widely, using it in titles to several of their publications.⁵⁷ As shown in Figure 4.1, the phrase *he taonga te reo* was the Commission’s official slogan for Māori Language Year (Te Tau o Te Reo Māori).⁵⁸



Figure 4.1. Official slogan for Māori Language Year 1995 (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori & Te Puni Kōkiri 1995).

The legislative status of Māori language as a *taonga*, coupled with the *he taonga te reo* slogan’s widespread promotional use arguably make the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE

⁵⁶ An online version of this Act is available at <http://www.legislation.govt.nz>.

⁵⁷ For example, *Directory of bilingual titles He taonga te reo* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1998) and the periodicals, *He taonga te reo: 1995 a celebration of Māori language* (1995-1996) and *Ko te whānau: he taonga te reo o te whānau* (1998-2004).

the most salient metaphor associated with the Māori language. At the base of this metaphor is the concept that LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT. Indeed the word *taonga* itself covers the concept of property as well as anything highly prized (H. W. Williams 1971: 381), this range of senses originating from a time where possessions were few and therefore precious.

The conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT is expressed in other phrases such as *kia mau ki te reo Māori* (hold on to the Māori language). This expression, which has a similar proverbial status to that of *he taonga te reo*, features in the lyrics of the song ‘Kia mau’ by Southside of Bombay and Mina Ripia, which was composed to promote Māori Language Year.

Kia mau ki tō reo Māori

*Te reo o ngā rangatira.*⁵⁹

Hold on to your Māori language

The language of chiefs.

David Margolin notes that the concept of ‘language as a precious possession’ is widespread in Native American rhetoric and that ‘this metaphor focuses on the emotional aspects of the replacement of a heritage language by a language of wider communication’ so people who use it ‘are presumably attempting to express their own distress and to mobilize protective feelings in their readers’ (Margolin 1999: 46). This observation will be tested in regard to the New Zealand situation by undertaking a brief analysis of the background of the idea of reification in Māori culture. Since rhetoric about the Māori language is of relatively recent vintage we will examine historical Māori writings for examples of reification of other items of value.

4.2 Historical examples of reification

Reification of items of cultural value occurs in some of the earliest written Māori sources. The following example is a section of an *oriori*⁶⁰ which was composed on the birth of an ancestor of Ngāi Tara and reportedly handed down through thirteen generations before being recorded in 1888:

Haramai e tama, puritia i te aka matua,

Kia whitirere ake ko te kauwae-runga, ko te kauwae-raro,

⁵⁸ It was the Māori Language Commission which designated 1995 as Māori Language Year (see Chrisp 1997). A number of events were held, including a summit conference to discuss the future of the language (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1996)

⁵⁹ Dawson et. al 1999.

⁶⁰ Sometimes referred to as ‘lullabies,’ *oriori* were composed on the birth of a high-ranking child. They often included *whakapapa* (genealogies) and, for male children, if appropriate, recounting of unavenged battles and dedication to a warrior’s life (see Ngata 1972: xvii and Orbell 1978: 61).

Kia tāwhia, kia tāmaua, kia ita i roto ... (A. T. Ngata and Te Hurinui 1980, Song 201: 44-46).

Come O son, hold fast to the main vine,
And awaken the celestial knowledge and the terrestrial knowledge,
Then take hold, hold fast, firmly enclose (them) (Te Reo Rangatira Trust 1998: 15).

The phrases *puritia*, *kia tāwhia*, *kia tāmaua* and *kia ita* are similar in meaning to the phrase *kia mau* with the child is being exhorted to hold on to various types of knowledge handed down from the beginning of creation.

One of the most well-known recorded uses of the phrase *kia mau* phrase comes from the second Māori King, Tāwhiao. In the 1860s Tāwhiao repeatedly urged his followers ‘to take hold of, or hold fast to the Faith, to Love and the Law’ (*kia mau ki te Whakapono, kia mau ki te Aroha, kia mau ki te Ture*) (Kirkwood 2000: 38). In this context *whakapono*, faith, is the Christian faith, *aroha* is Christian charity, and *ture* is God’s law. In the turbulent political climate of the 1860s Tāwhiao is exhorting his people to retain these new concepts which they adopted.

Sometimes the land was the object which was to be retained. Although land is an object in itself, its use in this construction is metaphorical in that land cannot literally be held in the hands. Tāwhiao composed this waiata urging land retention in the 1860s:

Ka ngapu te whenua

Ka haere ngā tāngata ki whea?

E Ruaimoko

Puritia!

Tāwhia!

Kia ita!

A-a-a ita!

Kia mau, kia mau!

The earthquake shakes the land

Where shall man find an abiding place?

Oh Ruaimoko (god of the lower depths)

Hold fast!

Bind, tightly firm!

Be firm, be firm!

Hold, hold!

Hold fast the land (Kirkwood 2000: 40).

Tāwhiao's exhortations have the tone of an *ohākī* – a farewell exhortation from a dying chief to his descendants containing directions to family and tribe. During recorded history the *ohākī* often used the verbal particle *kia* and phrases beginning with *kia mau* to encourage adherence to both Christian belief as well as the words and deeds of forebears. An example of the latter comes from the *ohākī* of Hēnare Mete Te Amohau in 1927 where the phrase *kia mau* is used to encourage descendants to retain something precious from the past: *kia mau, kia ū, te titi i te kōtuku a ō tātou pāpā* (*Te Toa Takitini*, 68, 570) (hold on and retain the white heron plume of our forefathers).

These are just a few examples in early Māori writings where knowledge, Christian values and land are reified. Although these examples do not refer to the Māori language, Margolin's comment about reification still holds true in that the aim of the speakers is 'to express their own distress and to mobilize protective feelings' (Margolin 1999: 46).

4.3 Ngata and Māoritanga

Further uses of the *kia mau* phrase occurred in the first half of the 20th century amongst a group of young Māori leaders which included Sir Āpirana Ngata. The Young Māori Party, as they called themselves, grew to prominence from the early 1900s at a time when it was thought that Māori were a dying race. These influential men were native speakers of Māori with an English-based formal education and could function well in both Māori and Pākehā worlds.

One of Ngata's legacies was his work in encouraging Māori to rebuild meeting houses and engage in arts such oratory, weaving, carving and song. Secure in their own foundation as native speakers, Ngata and his colleagues saw these more positive aspects of their culture as necessary for Māori to survive in the world. In an effort to encourage unity along non-tribal lines, Ngata adopted the phrase *kia mau ki tō Māoritanga* (hold on to your Māoritanga) (A. T. Ngata 1940: 176). *Māoritanga* is an abstract noun based on the word Māori and translates as Māori 'traditions, practices and beliefs' (Orsman 1997: 481).

Ngata saw Māoritanga as being something precious. The following words, which he wrote in a young girl's autograph book, have become a well-known proverbial saying.

E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao.

Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ora mō tō tinana,

Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga,

Ko tō wairua ki te Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa.

Grow and branch forth for the days of your world;

Your hand to the tools of the Pākehā for the welfare of your body,

Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as adornments for your head
Your spirit with God, who made all things (Mead & Grove 2001: 48).

Ngata uses the word *taonga* to refer to Māori culture as something passed down from the ancestors, and in doing so he describes this inheritance as an adornment, a diadem, in other words, an object. Ngata's exhortation to hold on to Māoritanga was taken up in song and rhetoric and many examples can be found throughout the 20th century. One example is in the following waiata composed by the 20th century Māori composer, Tuini Ngāwai.

Ka pupuri i roto rā, te ngākau e

Ngā kupu kōrero

A Āpirana e, kia mau

Ki tō Māoritanga e

Mā te aroha o roto rā

Ki ngā tūpuna

Within our heart we hold

The words

Of Āpirana, to hold fast

To your Māoritanga

With love from within

Towards the ancestors (Pēwhairangi 1985: 93).

By Tuini Ngāwai's time, in the 1940s and 1950s, there was increasing awareness of a new generation of dislocated Māori youth living in the cities. Indeed, one of the recurrent themes in Ngāwai's songs is encouraging youth to retain their culture (Pēwhairangi 1985: 62). That is, within a generation from Āpirana's use of the phrase *kia mau ki tō Māoritanga* to exhort a type of biculturalism amongst Māori who were relatively secure in their language and culture, Tuini was aiming the same sentiment at young people who seemed to be losing their Māori identity. Again, Margolin's statement (1999: 46) that reification occurs when people are 'attempting to express their own distress and to mobilize protective feelings' is sustained.

Use of the phrase *kia mau ki tō Māoritanga* continues through to relatively recent times, as shown in the following song 'Ngā mihi, ngā whakatauki' composed by Hinehou Campbell in 1977:

Kia ū, kia mau

Ki tō Māoritanga, puritia!

Be firm in your resolve

To cling to your Māori identity (Kāretu 1987: 91-92).

Māoritanga is also seen as being intergenerationally transmitted, as shown in this 1967 song by Ngoi Pēwhairangi:

Taku Māoritanga, mana motuhake,
Nō aku tīpuna e.
 My Māoritanga, my cultural identity,
 Comes to me from my ancestors (Kāretu 1987: 99-100).

The spiritual inheritance from the ancestors is seen as being on a higher plane, on a pedestal, to be venerated and treasured. This is expressed in these words from the song ‘Toro mai tō ringa.’

Hikitia, e ngā iwi
Kia rewa ki runga
Ngā taonga a ngā mātua
Kua ngaro ki te pō.
 Lift up, oh people,
 Elevate on high
 The treasures of the ancestors
 Who have gone to the night (Leathem 1991: 20-1).

This image of something treasured being needed to be raised up on high is an example of the conceptual metaphors HIGH STATUS IS UP and VIRTUE IS UP (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 16-17).

4.4 Holding on to the Māori language

The development of the young Māori group Ngā Tamatoa in the early seventies brought a change to the emphasis on Māoritanga. Ngā Tamatoa embraced a range of activities but, as one member, John Ohia put it, their ‘initial focus ... was the language’ (Diamond 2001). Ngā Tamatoa’s emphasis on Māori language as being the key to Māori culture saw the word Māoritanga become rather old-fashioned, its place taken over by the Māori language which has become the metonymic representation of Māori culture.⁶¹ Accordingly, the phrase *kia mau ki te reo Māori* (hold on to the Māori language) has largely supplanted the phrase *kia mau ki tō Māoritanga* (hold on to your Māoritanga).

This focus on the Māori language has been expressed in song. Wiremu Kaa, in a 1991 publication, gives the words to a song entitled ‘Kua tata’ which moves from talking about Māori culture in general, to the language in particular:

⁶¹ This is discussed further in section 9.2.3.2.

<i>Kua tata ki te wā</i>	The time is drawing near
<i>Mō ngā tikanga Māori</i>	For all things Māori
<i>Kia kaha, kia mau</i>	Be firm and hold on
<i>Ki ngā tikanga Māori e</i>	To all things Māori
<i>Hei āwhina i te reo</i>	To help the language
<i>Kua tapepetia nei</i>	That is slipping by
<i>Kia kaha rā e</i>	Be firm and hold on
<i>Awhitia kia mau</i>	So that it will stay
<i>Ringaringa kei waho</i>	Stretch out your hands
<i>Kapukaputia</i>	Grab all you can
<i>Ko ngā pitopito</i>	Of all that remains
<i>Māoritanga kia mau</i>	So that Māoritanga is forever (Kaa 1991: song 110). ⁶²

Tīmoti Kāretu gives the following words from a composition by Wiremu Kerekere, a well-known Māori composer:

Kia mau ki ō tikanga
Me tō reo Māori
Koinei rā tō tūranga teitei e
 Retain your customs
 And your Māori language
 For this is what gives you status (Kāretu 1993: 225).

The following excerpt from the song ‘Whakarongo’ by Ngōi Pēwhairangi is talking about the Māori language:

***Pupuritia!** Kōrerotia mō ake tonu!* (Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1995: 72).
 Retain it! Speak it for all time!

The idea that the Māori language is handed down from the ancestors is shown in the following song composed in 1995:

***Pupuritia** ki tō reo rangatira*
he taonga tuku iho, kaua e waretia
Kia kōrero i ngā wā katoa (Tikao 2002).

⁶² The booklet is unpaginated hence the reference to the song number.

Hold on to the chiefly language
 It's a treasure that's been handed down, don't forget
 To speak it all the time.

That is, language does not merely belong to our ancestors but has been physically passed on to us.

The image of adornment, as seen in Āpirana Ngata's words in the young girl's autograph book, has also been passed on to the idea of Māori language. A recent song such as 'Nei rā te kaupapa' by Te Tawhīro Maxwell⁶³ describes the Māori language as:

Hei pare kawakawa
Hei mea hirahira e
Tōku reo, tōku ohoo
Māpihi maurea
Whakakai marihi.
 A chaplet of kawakawa leaves
 An amazing thing
 My language, my valued possession
 My object of affection
 My precious adornment.

The role of the Māori language as perhaps the most important embodiment of Māoritanga was argued in the Waitangi Tribunal submissions for the claim concerning the Māori language in 1985. In evidence, Tāmāti Reedy used the expression, *Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori* (The language is the heart and soul of the *mana*⁶⁴ of Māoridom)⁶⁵, adding that it was significant that the Māori language is 'a separate but integral part of Māoritanga' (Waitangi Tribunal 1986: 52).

What is evident throughout the development of the *kia mau* phrase from Tāwhiao's time through to its use with Māoritanga and its current use in referring to the Māori language is that:

- i) it is a public exhortation, used in rhetoric and song
- ii) it is used as a reaction to a situation of change within Māori society
- iii) it urges Māori to hold on to something valued by elders and ancestors.

⁶³ This song was composed in 1997 at a wānanga reo held by the Whakatōhea tribe on the Waiaua marae in Ōpōtiki (Te Kāhau Maxwell, personal communication, 31 May 2007). The English translation is mine.

⁶⁴ 'Authority, prestige, influence, power or control' (Orsman 1997: 465).

⁶⁵ Reedy's translation.

4.5 Implications of the LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT metaphor

The LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT metaphor has developed as an offshoot from the expressions concerning the retention of Māoritanga during the 20th century and, before that, from expressions concerning the retention of land and Christian values. Expressions which reify Māori language entail the following:

- i) The Māori language is immutable and timeless;
- ii) The Māori language can be passed down like an heirloom from ancestors to their descendants.

The first entailment, that the Māori language is immutable and timeless, does not fit well with the informants' descriptions of their situation in learning the language. As we shall see, the metaphors they use describe language as a process or transformation. In other words the informants prefer metaphors which describe change, in contrast to the idea of an immutable and timeless object. This is because the LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT metaphor describes the language whereas the informants prefer to use metaphors which help them describe the process of language acquisition.

With regard to the second entailment, that of intergenerational transmission, since the informants in this study are second language learners, they have not acquired any appreciable fluency in the language directly from their parents or extended family. The informants have learnt the language later in life as adults, often from second language speakers. Intergeneration transmission, therefore, is not part of their experience. This is despite Benton's (2001: 38) contention that for this cohort of adult second-language speakers 'the language has been perceived as 'he taonga tuku iho', an inheritance handed down to them by their ancestors.' Analysis of the metaphors preferred by the informants in the following chapters shows that they are able to articulate their experience using a set of metaphors which still allow for a connection with ancestral world but avoid reference to intergenerational transmission.

It is not hard to see why these newly-fluent speakers, when describing their own learning of the language, would tend not use expressions which reified the Māori language. Neither of the two entailments, embodied in the LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT metaphor, applies to their situation. The image of the language being an immutable, timeless object handed down from the elders comes, ultimately, from the perspective of a native speaker who has something, but must take care of it lest it is lost or not otherwise passed on. With second language learners we have moved from a generation 'express[ing] ... distress' (Margolin 1999: 46) to a generation expressing engagement with the Māori language.

4.6 Language as a *mauri*

There was some dissent expressed about the *he taonga te reo* slogan when it was used by the Māori Language Commission for Māori Language Year. Discussion between native speakers Te Wharehuia Milroy and Hohua Tutengaehe at the Winter Lecture Series at Waikato University in 1995 revealed some had difficulty with the idea that language was a *taonga* and therefore a *taonga tuku iho* – handed down intergenerationally.⁶⁶ As a result of this debate Te Rita Papesch composed a song entitled ‘He mauri te reo’ (the Māori language is a life force) (Te Rita Papesch, personal communication, 21 March 2002).

In pre-contact times a *mauri* was a physical object, often a stone, in which resided the life force of an entity like a house, river or food resource. In human beings the *mauri* was contained within the body (Orbell 1995: 117-119). That is, a *mauri* was a physical object. However, the meaning of *mauri* has changed somewhat since those times, becoming conceptualised in a metaphysical way (Holman 2007: 330-376) and often translated into English by the phrase ‘life essence’ (Barlow 1994: 83).

In Papesch’s waiata the question is asked ‘from whence comes my language?’ (*nō whea te reo?*)⁶⁷ The reply is given, ‘from within yourself’ (*tēnei anō au*). Instead of the language being transferred intergenerationally, the idea of the language being a *mauri* or ‘life essence’ contained intrinsically within oneself and able to be accessed, is preferred:

‘He taonga tonu ko te reo?’

Titiro whakaroto rā,

Nōhou ake te mauri rā.

‘Is the language transferable?’

You must look within yourself

For that essentiality is yours alone (Te Rita Papesch, personal communication, 2001).

There are other examples available of modern descriptions of Māori language being a *mauri*. In 1993 Ian Nēpia described Māori language as being the *mauri* of a person: *ko te reo te mauri o te tangata* (the Māori language is the *mauri* of a person) (1993: 343).

⁶⁶ Some also had difficulty with the word *taonga* itself, taking its meaning to be strictly ‘a possession’ rather than also encapsulating the idea of a treasure (Te Rita Papesch, personal communication, 2001). Te Wharehuia Milroy prefers the phrase *he kuranga i tukua iho* (a treasure handed down) (Te Wharehuia Milroy, personal communication, 14 May 2001).

⁶⁷ Papesch’s translation.

In these examples the language is a life essence, that is, the Māori language is seen as an intrinsic part of any Māori, able to be awakened at any time. Van Meijl's analysis shows that Māoritanga has similarly been perceived as being 'an immutable characteristic, born into all Māori people' (1996: 312). Perhaps this is what a native speaker of Māori meant when he responded to my question *he aha te reo Māori ki a koe?* (what is Māori language to you?) by saying *ko taku whakapapa* (it's my genealogy).⁶⁸

The idea that Māori contain within them the potential for expression of Māori culture may well have developed from the legal and generally accepted definition of a Māori being anyone descended from a Māori. This definition contains the conceptual framework for the idea expressed in Te Rita Papesch's song, that the Māori language is a *mauri*, contained within a Māori person, as a birthright inheritance.

While the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS A LIFE ESSENCE still objectifies the Māori language it neatly sidesteps problems with both entailments of the LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE/OBJECT conceptual metaphor by locating the object inside the person. In particular, it allows for intergenerational transmission to be evoked by way of genetics rather than social environment.

4.7 Discussion

This chapter has examined the reification of the Māori language through the commonly used saying *he taonga te reo* and other similar phrases. Reification of aspects of culture is a near universal phenomenon (Sissons 1993). In this investigation we have seen that reification has been expressed in Māori rhetoric and song since the 1860s at least and is usually a response to the Māori community being confronted with change. Consciousness of those changes has manifested itself in exhortations to retain aspects of culture which are seen as important at the time (as per Margolin 1999: 46). Tāwhiao urged his followers to retain Christian values which had been adopted by the Māori community. Sir Āpirana Ngata urged Māoridom to hold on to its customs as an adornment, in a precursor to bicultural policies of more recent times. Tuini Ngāwai addressed her invocation to retain Māoritanga to the newly emerging alienated urban youth. From the 1970s onwards the Māori language was singled out as the key aspect of Māori culture which needed to be retained. The latest variation of this reification is embodied in the words *he taonga te reo* which encapsulates the Māori language as a timeless unchanging treasure, or object which has been handed down to us from the ancestors.

⁶⁸ Pakihau Johnston, personal communication, April 2001.

This type of reification is linked to the *ohākī* tradition in that it is a public rhetorical utterance designed to pass on what is regarded as essential instructions for others to live by. This is perhaps one reason why metaphors such as *he taonga te reo* were eschewed by the informants in this study, in that their stories were personal and individualised, not public rhetoric. There is a tension here between the public and social focus of the native speaker and language planner on the one hand, and the private and individual focus of the second language learner on the other.

From the time of Sir Āpirana Ngata through to the present day, native speakers have often seen the Māori language as a useful aspect of Māori culture that should be retained, an essential aspect of Māori identity. Native speakers ‘had’ the language, and when we say ‘had’ we mean it in the sense as if the Māori language was a possession, something they possessed. But when native speakers see increasing numbers of younger generations of Māori growing up without the language it leads them to produce exhortations to retain the language, to speak of the language as if it was a thing, to reify the language. *Kia mau ki te reo* (hold on to the language) they chime, reminding themselves and others of the value Māori language has or should have for them. The Māori language has value, it is a valuable object, it is a *taonga* (treasure).

However, for those generations who grew up without the Māori language, those who were adults in the late seventies through to the early nineties, there is a different rhetoric. They did not ‘have’ the language, so they went looking for it. The language is lost, but it can be regained and so the language and its attendant customs became a quest. This cohort does not need to remind themselves of the value of the Māori language, this is axiomatic. Instead they talk about a relationship with the Māori language. In other words, native speakers take their relationship with the Māori language for granted and in reaction to change concerning the place of Māori language in society they emphasise the value of the Māori language, whereas second language speakers take the value of Māori language for granted and in becoming newly-fluent speakers emphasise their relationship with the language.

The description of Māori language as a treasure which has been handed down exemplifies the current vaunted aim of Māori language revitalisation in New Zealand: to return the language to the state of intergenerational transmission.⁶⁹ Therefore metaphors which reify the language and emphasise its transmission through the generations will continue to play an important role in strategising and marketing the language in the foreseeable future. The next four chapters will examine how a group of metaphors preferred by newly-fluent adult speakers of Māori also have importance for the revitalisation of the Māori language.

⁶⁹ See, for example, Te Puni Kōkiri 2002c.

Chapter 5: *Whāia te reo* – language as a path

This chapter analyses the informants' use of the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS A PATH (section 5.1) and follows this with an historical examination of the use of the source domain 'paths' in a range of selected song and written biblical sources from various time periods: early 19th century Māori sources (section 5.2), the Māori Bible (section 5.3), late 19th century Māori political writing (section 5.4), early 20th century Māori sources (section 5.5) and late 20th century Māori sources (section 5.6). The discussion in section 5.7 contextualises the findings in a wider historical and language revitalisation context.

5.1 Participants' use of the path metaphor

One of the most popular metaphors used by the informants describes language as a journey. There are two versions of this metaphor, LANGUAGE IS A PATH and LANGUAGE IS A CANOE (discussed in Chapter 6). The LANGUAGE IS A PATH metaphor was the most common metaphor employed, being used by nineteen of the thirty-two informants to describe their relationship with the language, and was realised in two related forms: LANGUAGE IS A PATH and the variant, LANGUAGE LEARNING IS A PATH.⁷⁰

In using this metaphor language (or language learning) is seen as a path, *huarahi* or *ara*. Before learning the language informants speak of searching, *kimī*, *kimikimi*, of being lost, or deviating from the path, *kotiti*. In learning the language they see themselves as following the language, *whai i te reo*, or following the path, *whai i te huarahi*, or treading the path, *takahi i te huarahi*. This 'path' is their ongoing engagement with the language and culture.

It is clear from the context, and sometimes explicitly stated, that the journey along this path is made on foot. This contrasts with Lakoff and Johnson's brief discussion of the journey metaphor where they say that with the examples of the LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor that they give 'there are various types of journeys that one can make: a car trip, a train trip, or a sea voyage' (1980: 45).

While the majority of the interviews were conducted largely in Māori, a few informants spoke English on occasion. The path metaphor was also used in English to talk about the Māori

⁷⁰ The path metaphor was also used by informants to refer to things other than the Māori language. For example, Piringākau talks about the difficulties for Māori in dealing with government departments, for example, by saying *Mā mātou anō pea e hanga he huarahi mō tātou. Mā te Māori e hanga mā te Māori*. (Maybe we should construct a path for us. The Māori should construct it for the Māori).

language but on far fewer occasions than when speaking Māori. The following quote is one of four examples of the use of the word *journey* to refer to learning the Māori language.

And that helped spark a lot of us on our **journey** of really wanting to know and to understand our reo (Karihi).

There was also one occasion when the Māori word *haerenga*, journey, was used to refer to circumstances associated with the Māori language. This quote follows an explanation by Awanui that his involvement in teaching Māori was an unsought role, with the following words indicating that it is a rewarding challenge.

He haerenga māku (Awanui).

It is a journey for me.

When speaking English there were no examples of the words *path* or *way* being used to refer to learning Māori but the words *road* and *pathway* each occurred once. Here Rachael is talking about how she was learning Māori while her Pākehā boyfriend pursued his own interests.

I sort of created my own yellow brick **road** (Rachael).

The word *pathway* occurred three times.

Yeah, I do know lots people that have gone through that **pathway** of learning [the Māori language] (Mandy).

The word *lost* occurs four times in the English parts of the text. Most often the person themselves are lost. This idea involves the path metaphor in that it implies that the person has strayed from the path and they need to find a way back to where they need to be.

We, a lot of us, did not know our Māori language or its tikanga. And, and so, you really are **lost** because you don't have anything to ground yourself with (Karihi).

On one occasion it was the language itself which was lost.

I think probably in my father's family although the reo was **lost**, a lot of the tikanga and things were carried on (Steve).

In the following sections we will examine the informants' use of the path metaphor in Māori.

5.1.1 Finding the path

Before being involved in learning Māori informants spoke of searching for a path.

Ka kimikimi haere i tētahi huarahi mōku. I reira au mō ngā tau e rua, kimikimi haere. I kore rawa i te mōhio me aha au. Kātahi ka tīmata au ki te ako i te reo (Stu).

I was searching around for a path I could take. I was there for two years, searching around. I didn't know what I should do. Then I began to learn Māori.

One informant spoke of being lost, *ngaro*, before learning Māori.

*I ngā wā o mua, i mua i taku eketanga ki runga i te waka, i te **ngaro** ahau* (Sharon).

In the past, before I got on board the canoe, I was lost.

Being lost conjures up the idea that you have lost your way, lost your path. Another informant also linked the idea of being lost with the loss of one's ability to speak Māori.

*Mehemea kua **ngaro** tō reo, kua **ngaro** koe* (Kyle).

If you have lost your language, you are lost.

Besides being lost, other informants spoke of being *kotiti*, wayward, before learning Māori. This word contains connotations of not being properly on the path.

*Ahakoia i **kotiti** ahau, i mahi i ngā mahi o ngā rangatahi, kei roto kē i tōku ngākau te tino hiahia ki te ako i te reo Māori me ngā tikanga* (Sharon).

Although I was wayward, and did what all young people do, inside of me was the firm desire to learn the Māori language and traditions.

In these examples informants describe how they felt before they became committed and seriously involved in learning Māori. The words they use allude to the path metaphor and describe a feeling of lacking purpose. In the next section they describe getting on to that path.

5.1.2 On the path

The word *huarahi* is the main word the informants used for the idea of a path. Other words such as *ara* or *huanui* were used infrequently. This example is one of only four examples in the interviews of the word *ara* being used to refer to the Māori language.

*Arā noa atu te hōhonutanga o te reo Māori i roto i te kōrero kanohi ki kanohi noa iho, nē? Koinā **te tino ara** e **whāia** nei e au i tēnei wā* (Watson).

And that's the depth of the Māori language, encapsulated in just talking face to face, isn't it? And that's the main path that I'm following at the moment.

In preferring the word *huarahi* for path, the simplest form of words used was of the form *te* (singular definite article) + *huarahi*.

*I kōrero mai taku māmā, 'Kia kaha ki te reo Māori, koirā **te huarahi** mō āpōpō.'*

Piringākau

My mother told me, 'Put your effort into the Māori language, it's the path for tomorrow.'

Often the formulaic phrase *ki/i runga i* + [det.] + *huarahi*,⁷¹ (on + [det.] + path)⁷² is used. One of the two main determiners used is *taua* (that, mentioned before). In this example Rau is talking about how her determination to learn Māori was inspired by wanting to help her son who was attending kura kaupapa Māori.

*Me haere au i **runga i taua huarahi** hoki ki te āwhina i a ia (Rau).*

I should also go on that path to help him.

5.1.3 Following the path

Frequently the informants did not just talk about being on a path, they spoke about following that path. In doing so they used a formulaic expression of the form *whai* (+subj.) + *i* + [det.] + *huarahi* (following + [det.] path). This formula occurred a total of six times in the interviews.

*Mena ka **whai** māua i **te huarahi** o te reo Māori me ngā tikanga, ko te mahi mā māua a muri o tērā, ko te mahi o te kaiako (Stu).*

If he and I follow the path of Māori language and culture, the job for us after that is to work as teachers.

The phrase *whai i te huarahi* also appeared in a contracted form *whai huarahi*.

*I reira he kaiako reo Māori, nō reira ka **whai huarahi** ahau kia puāwai tērā kākano i whakatōngia e tōku pāpā (Anaru).*

There was a Māori language teacher there, and so I followed that path so that seed planted by my father could bloom.

Instead of 'following the road', on occasion, the word *takahi* (to tread) is used.

⁷¹ Square brackets are used to indicate obligatory items which fall into a particular word category. Round brackets indicate an optional item. A forward slash is used to indicate 'either/or.' Det. = determiner.

⁷² Strings such as this which admit some variability to the base form are still regarded as formulaic (Wray 2002: 49-50).

Ehara i te mea he haerenga māmā tēnei, he mea waingōhia, he uaua kē māku ki te takahi i tēnei o ngā huarahi. Engari kei te takahi tonu (Te Hata).

It's not as if this is an easy or straightforward journey, it's difficult for me to tread this one of the roads. But I kept treading it.

5.1.4 Following the language

By far the most common variation of the formulaic phrase *whai i te huarahi* involves substituting the word *reo* (language) for *huarahi*. The formulaic phrase *whai* (+subject) + *i te reo* (Māori) occurs 22 times in the interviews and was the most common expression of the path metaphor by the informants.

In this example both the phrases *whai i* + [det.] + *huarahi* and *whai i te reo* occur.

Nāna anō i whakaakiaki i a mātou, ngā tauira, ngā ākonga, kia whai i tēnei huarahi. Āe, koinā te tīmatanga o taku whai i te reo (Ginny).

It was she who urged us, her pupils, students, to follow this path. Yes, that was how I started following the language.

It is not necessary to specify which language is being referred to in this phrase. That it is the Māori language is implicit, but nonetheless it can be made explicit, as in this example.

I a mātou i te kura, te kura tuatahi me te intermediate, kāore hoki he huarahi kia whai i te reo Māori (Anaru).

When we were at school, primary school and intermediate, there was no avenue for pursuing the Māori language.

The most frequent variation, through is just *whai i te reo*, pursuing the language.

I te wā i tīmata au i te mahi ... i te tino kaha au ki te whai i te reo (Watson).

At the time I started work ... I was very determined to follow the language.

5.1.5 The right path

In the previous sections, following the path and following the language implies that there are no other paths, that the Māori language path is *te huarahi*, **the** path.

Five informants go further by explicitly stating that the Māori language is *te huarahi tika*, the right path. In the following quote Te Hata is talking about his two friends who are learning Māori.

Kei runga rāua i te huarahi tika, kei konei au e akiaki nei i a rāua (Te Hata).

They are on the right path, and I'm here encouraging them on.

This informant felt that Māori language was not just the *right* path, but the *only* path.

Ko te huarahi kotahi hei whāinga māku ko te reo (Hāriata).

The sole path for me to follow is the language.

Alternatively, Māori language is a *huarahi pai*, a good path.

Nō reira, i whakaaro au me kimihia tētahi huarahi pai (Karihi).

Therefore, I decided I should look for a good path.

This informant began his involvement with Māori language through involvement in an alcohol and drug recovery programme.

Kāore au i kite i te huarahi tika hei oranga mōku, engari hei te mutunga o aua tau pea, tae noa ki te rua tekau mā iwa i whakaaro ahau me kimihia tētahi huarahi hou e kore au e mate (Karihi).

I couldn't see the right path to bring me to health, but at the end of that period of time, right up til I was 29 I thought I should find a new path so I wouldn't die.⁷³

At this crossroads in his life Karihi cut out a picture of a meeting house from a Weetbix packet.

Ka titiro atu ahau ki tēnei whare. Kāore au i te mōhio nā te aha ai i mahi au i aua mahi. Engari ināianei, ko tēnei te whakaaro, tērā pea nā ōku tīpuna i whakatō i taua whakaaro kia mahi tērā hei tohu mōku. Kei te hoki atu ahau ki tēnei āhuatanga tūturu kia eke ki runga i te huarahi tika (Karihi).

I would look at this house. I didn't know why I did it [cut out the picture]. But now, I think, perhaps it was my ancestors who planted the idea in me that I should do that, as a sign for me. Now I am returning to these traditional aspects so I can get on to the right path.

When this description is used it brings into focus the possibility that there is another path, *te huarahi kino*, the bad path, whose existence is implied but never made explicit.

⁷³ Karihi's father died as a result of alcoholism.

5.1.6 Goals

A feature of paths is that they lead somewhere. If the informants are following this path of the Māori language, we can ask, just where does it lead? One of the most obvious answers to this is that their goal is high level fluency. The exemplars for these newly-fluent speakers of Māori are the older generation of fluent speakers.

*I taua wā, i te **whai** au i ngā tāngata matatau. I te **whai** au i ngā **huarahi** kia pakari rawa tōku reo (Stu).*

At that time I followed the fluent speakers. I was following the paths so my language could be really strengthened.

Alternatively, the Māori language path is a route to accessing Māori life. This informant expresses how knowing the Māori language will give him access to Māori traditions and rituals.

*Ko te mea nui ko te whakaaro Māori. Mena ka taea e koe ki te whakaaro pērā. Ko te reo tētahi waka kawē. Tēnā noa iho. He **huarahi** tere ake pea. Ka mōhio ki te kōrero Māori, ka mōhio hoki koe ki ētahi āhuatanga, ngā tikanga (Stu).*

The most important thing is to think Māori. If you can think like that. The language is a vehicle. That's all. Maybe a faster path. If you know how to speak Māori, you will also know some aspects, the customs.

Some informants felt that the language path was not the only path by which one could express Māori identity.

*Ehara i te mea koinā anake **te huarahi** e tae ai e te tangata te whakamārama atu, te whakamōhio atu ki te ao he Māori ia. Engari he tino **huarahi** tēnā (Watson).*

It's not as if that's the only path by which a person can explain and show to the world that they are Māori. But it is a main path.

One of the connotations of the path of the Māori language is that it is a path linking the informants with their ancestors who have passed on.

*I te mea, kua rongo au ki te maha o ngā koroua e kōrero ana i runga i te marae, i te mea kāore au i te tino mōhio ki te reo. Koirā taku hiahia, kia mōhio ai ki ā rātou kōrero. Āe, me te **whai i te huarahi** o ōku mātua (Kyle).*

In that I have heard so many elders talking on the marae and I didn't really understand the language. And that's my desire, to understand their speech. Yes, and to follow the path of my parents.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ The word *matua* in Māori has a wider connotation than the English word *parents* in that it can refer to the whole of the parental generation, and even to grandparents and ancestors.

5.1.7 Difficulties and positive outcomes

The reality is that for second language learners, attaining fluency in the Māori language requires long-term commitment. The informants are able to use the path metaphor to convey this idea.

*Engari he uaua tonu te **huarahi**. Ehara i te mea he **huarahi** māmā (Watson).*

But it's a difficult path. It's not as if it's an easy path.

It is not as though the informants expected that their choices would be easy but they see the Māori language as being integral to a Māori identity.

*Me whakapau nei i tōku nei kaha kia taea ai e au te kī ake āe he Māori ahau. I te mea kia kaua e tātou e **whai i te huarahi** ngāwari i ngā wā katoa (David).*

I should expend my energies so I can say, yes, I'm Māori. Because we shouldn't follow the easy path all the time.

Despite the difficulties, informants also used the path metaphor to convey some of the positive outcomes that learning Māori has had for them. Lovey's choice encouraged her mother who was brought up speaking Māori to start using Māori again.

*I kite ia i **tēnei huarahi** ka hiahia ia hoki i taku tirohanga. Āe. Mai i taku tīmatanga i hoki tōku māmā ki tōna reo. ... I kite tōku māmā he **huarahi** anō mōna kia hoki mai tōna reo (Lovey).*

When she saw this path she also wanted what I saw. Yes. When I began my mother returned to her language. ... My mother saw that this was indeed a path for her for her language to return.

Isaac saw that his commitment was something positive for the language itself.

*He tino **huarahi** ana ki a au ... he tangata e kaha whakamātau ana kia pērā kia ora ai tō tātou reo (Isaac).*

It's an important path for me ... [to be] a person trying hard to do that so our language can live.

5.1.8 Never-ending path

One aspect about the informants' choice to become fluent speakers is that they realise that it's a long-term project. The path metaphor enables them to express this with the idea that the Māori language path is never-ending.

*E kore rawa au e tū ki te **whai i te reo**, e rawa au e kapi i **tērā huarahi**. He whāinga tērā mai i tō whānautanga, tae noa atu ki tō matenga ki a au (Watson).*

I'll never stop following the language; I'll never get to the end of that path. To me, it's something you follow right from your birth, up until you die.

There are still relatively few domains where newly-fluent adult speakers of Māori can embed and extend their language skills. This contrasts with other language learning situations where learners may be able to immerse themselves in environments where they are surrounded by native speakers. These second language learners can use the path metaphor to reinforce their need to maintain ongoing determination.

*Engari, he tīmatatanga noa iho tēnei. Kāore au e kī atu anei **te huarahi** tīmatanga, te otinga. Kāo* (Piringākau).

But, this is just a beginning. I'll never say, here's the start of the path and the end. No.

5.1.9 Other paths

In all these examples the informants have been using the word *path* to describe the Māori language. They also employed the path metaphor to talk about how an earlier generation of Māori parents had made a conscious decision to follow the Pākehā way of life and the English language.

*Nā te mea ko ō māua mātua i te whakaaro rātou me **whai i te huarahi** o te tauīwi, akongia te reo me ērā atu* (Stu).

Because our parents, they thought they should follow the foreigners' path, learn the [English] language and so on.

Sometimes the Pākehā path was contrasted with the Māori language path.

*Ko ōna mātua, kāore rātou ki te tino kaha ki te akiaki ki taku matua ki te **whai i te reo Māori**. ... Pai kē atu kia **whai i te huarahi** Pākehā* (Watson).

His parents, they didn't put much effort into urging my father to pursue the Māori language. ... It was better to follow the Pākehā path.

The same was true in Manaaki's family.

*Kāore aku mātua i kōrero Māori ki a mātou. **Te huarahi i whai e taku māmā** kia kaua e kōrero Māori ki ngā tamariki* (Manaaki).

My parents didn't speak Māori to us. The path that my mother followed was to not speak Māori to the children.

Because many of the informants are associated with the teaching profession it is not surprising that they use the path metaphor to describe a path associated with becoming a teacher.

*Engari, i tērā rā ka kite au i **taku huarahi**. Anā, tērā, he kura māhita i roto i te reo. I taua wā, koirā te wā tuatahi kua kite au, anei **te huarahi** e **whai** ake nei ahau* (Piringākau).

But, on that day, I saw my path. And so, that was to be a teacher of the language.

At that time, that was the first time I had seen that was a path that I could follow.

5.1.10 Many paths?

Except for section 5.1.5 where the existence of another path is implied when informants talk about the ‘right path’, the quotes we have examined so far refer to a singular path. Māori language is *the* path, there is no other. The following are the only two examples where the possibility of there being more than one route to the Māori language was expressed.

*Me taku mōhio he nui noa atu **ngā huarahi** e tae ai te tangata te reo te ako* (Poutini).

And I know that there are very many paths by which a person can learn the language.

In the following quote the path leads to the Māori language. This differs from most uses of the path metaphor where the language is the path itself.

*He nui ngā kōrero kei roto i ngā waiata. Koinā anō **tētahi huarahi** mōku mō te ako i te reo Māori. ... Heoi anō, ki a au nei, **he tino huarahi** tēnā ki te ako i ngā kupu hou* (Lovey).

There are so many stories in the songs. And that’s one of my paths to learning the Māori language. ... Anyway, for me, that’s one of the main paths to learning new words.

However, when using the path metaphor to talk about life in general, rather than the Māori language in particular, informants regularly used the plural definite article, indicating the possibility that there was more than one path. On leaving school this informant describes his mother telling him that there were two paths he could take.

*‘E rua pea **ngā huarahi** māu. Māu e whiriwhiri. Ko **te huarahi** ka noho koe ki te kāinga. Mena ka pērā, me whai mahi, me whai mahi, whai pūtea.’ Nāku i pātai atu ki a ia, ‘He aha kē **te huarahi** tuarua?’ Ko tāna, ‘Haere ki te whare wānanga’* (Anaru).

There are probably two paths for you. You can decide. One path is to stay at home. If you decide on that, you'll have to get a job, find work, and earn a living.' I asked her, 'And what's the other path?' She replied, 'Go to university.'

In this quote Rose introduces the idea that there are many paths that school leavers have to choose from.

He nui ngā huarahi, nē, mā ngā ākonga, engari ka pātai au ki a rātou, 'He aha ō pīrangi? Pīrangi ki te whai atu i te tūranga kaiako o te reo Māori?' (Rose).

There are many pathways, eh, for students, but when I ask them, 'What do you want to do? Do you want to pursue the role of becoming a Māori language teacher?'

Ultimately these paths can lead Māori children around the world.

Ko te mea tuatahi o te kura ko te mātauranga. Whāngai te tamaiti ki te mātauranga kātahi tukuna atu ki ngā huarahi katoa o te ao. Engari kia mōhio mai te tamariki, te tamaiti, he Māori (Manaaki).

The first priority of schooling is education. Feed the child with education and then send them out to all the paths in the world. But the children, child, must know that they are Māori.

These examples are included to provide contrast with the way informants use the path metaphor when talking about Māori language. While the path metaphor in general can be use in a more pluralistic way, when referring to the Māori language, with a few minor exceptions as cited above, it becomes singular and definitive as *the path*. This feature enables the participants to avoid any dilution of purpose which would be contained in acknowledging the possibility that they had the option of pursuing other possible paths.

5.1.11 Summary

Using the path metaphor to talk about the Māori language allows informants to describe:

- a. an initial state of being without the heritage language,
- b. an engagement with the language, and
- c. a continuing relationship with the language.

In the initial state of being without the heritage language informants spoke about having a lack of purpose (being lost, searching and wayward). In engaging with the Māori language they are following *te huarahi* (the path) or *te huarahi tika* (the right path), emphasising that their decision

to become fluent speakers provides a guiding shape to their life and life choices. Unlike other life choices which are often described as *ngā huarahi* (the paths) the use of singular determiners gives a focus to their relationship with the Māori language. The metaphor can also be used to talk about the difficulties they face and the positive benefits for themselves, others, and the language. The importance of links with parents, ancestors and Māori custom can also be expressed through the use of the path metaphor.

The informants use formulaic phrases of the type *runga i te huarahi* (on the path), *whai i te huarahi* (following the path) and *whai i te reo* (following the language) to describe a continuing relationship with the Māori language. The use of the path metaphor in this way enables informants to express the on-going nature of the relationship, that they must keep learning the language throughout their lifetimes. While the goal might be fluency they remind themselves that they will never reach the end of this particular path. In this way the metaphor allows them to express continuity of purpose.

In the next sections we will examine possible antecedents to this use of the path metaphor through an analysis of its use in various Māori sources from the mid 19th century through to the present day.

5.2 Early 19th century Māori sources

To trace the origins of the ‘language as path’ metaphor we will begin by looking at the use of path imagery in some of the earliest Māori writings in the form of sung poetry (sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.3) and proverb (section 5.2.4).

Like most cultures throughout the world, Māori used the idea of journeys in both sung poetry and narrative. In discussing the use of the journey theme in *waiata aroha* Orbell notes:

This sense of movement, and more specifically this device of a journey, is not to be found only in *waiata aroha*. Among other song types *pātere* and *oriori* usually take the form of a journey, and *waiata tangi* often describe the journey to the other world which is being undertaken by the spirit of the dead person. In *pātere* and *oriori*, as in the ‘catalogue of lovers’, the journey provides a conventional means of linking together a series of names of people, together with comments about them; in *waiata tangi*, the spirit’s journey again provides a means of structuring and giving movement to an elaborately rhetorical statement of separation, grief and loss (Orbell 1977: 301-302).

The journey metaphor also appears in story form. There are a number of stories where ‘a single individual ... may struggle to gain his rightful and natural place in society’ (Orbell 1968: x). Often these stories are of the form of a boy going on a journey to find his father, that is, to find ‘his true identity’ (Orbell 1968: x). The most well-known of these stories is the one where Māui journeys to find both his mother and then his father.⁷⁵

We will analyse the path metaphor in three song formats: *waiata aroha*, *oriori* and *waiata tangi*. Formulaic phrases to do with paths and journeys feature more often in *oriori* and *waiata tangi* than in *waiata aroha*. What all three song types have in common is the tendency to use the word *ara* for path, rather than the word *huarahi* which we have encountered in the informants’ interviews.

In Tregear’s *Māori-Polynesian comparative dictionary*, (1891) the word *ara* appears with cognates from many Polynesian languages, whereas the word *huarahi* does not. This raises the possibility that *huarahi* is a word which has been coined since Māori arrival in New Zealand.

⁷⁵ Other stories of this form include ‘The Boy and the Seedpod Canoe’, (Harlow 2000), ‘The Adventures of Paowa’ (both in Orbell 1968 & 1992) as well stories of eponymous tribal leaders such as Maru-tūahu.

In the first edition of W. Williams' Māori language dictionary (published in 1844) *ara* appears as 'path' but *huarahi* is absent. *Huarahi* (and a variant *huanui*) did not appear in this dictionary until the fourth edition was published in 1915 (W. L. Williams 1915). In that dictionary they are both glossed as meaning 'road, highway' compared with *ara* which is given as 'way, path.' If *huarahi* and *huanui* refer to roads rather than paths it is suggestive of the idea that these words may have been coined after European contact. However the omission of *huarahi* in the earlier dictionaries may be due to its infrequency of use at the time rather than its non-existence.

Indeed, if *huarahi* is in fact a coinage made after Pākehā arrival it must have appeared within the first generation of contact since Grey's *Ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna* (1971), a collection of Māori stories originally published in 1854, contains both *ara* and *huarahi*. However, there is a difference in frequency with the word *huarahi* appearing 18 times and *ara* appearing 32 times (Harlow 1990).⁷⁶ In some cases the two words seem to appear interchangeably in the one story. For example:

Ā, ka whakatika mai ō Taupō tira, ko te ara e haere mai ai mā aua huarahi anō i pau nei tērā tira rā (Grey 1971: 126).

And so, the Taupō travelling parties set out and the path they travelled was by the same paths that the other travelling party had taken.

This example would seem to indicate that although there may be some semantic difference between the meanings of these two words, they are relatively synonymous.

This early collection of stories illustrates that while both words were in use when these stories were first recorded in the early 1850s, *ara* is preferred. That the word *huarahi* does not appear in *mōteatea*, though there are two examples of *huanui* in *waiata tangi*, could be accounted for by the fact that *ara* has half the number of mora and would provide more flexibility for the purposes of scanning.

However, while it is not possible to be definitive about the etymological age of the word *huarahi*, there is enough evidence to plausibly suggest a post-European date for its coinage.

5.2.1 *Waiata aroha*

The following section is based on two sources of *waiata aroha*, those in the Ngata and Te Hurinui's *Ngā mōteatea* books, Parts I, II and III and the 100 songs which form the basis of

⁷⁶ This total excludes occurrences of *ara* as the verb 'to rise' and as the conjunction 'that is.' Also excluded are 8 occurrences where the word appears as 'path' in songs within the text.

Orbell's thesis. The songs in Ngata and Te Hurinui's books were collected and originally published by Sir Āpirana Ngata during the 1920s-1950s but the original sources are mostly works published in the mid 19th century (A. T. Ngata 1972: xiv). Two of the main sources for the songs in Orbell's collection were books published in 1853 and 1855.⁷⁷ In both cases, while there are some songs which have been composed after European arrival these generally conform to the theme and style of the older works showing that the formulae and images employed in these songs were reasonably resistant to change.

Orbell notes that paths provided thematic content and structure in *waiata aroha* in that there are many passages in which the poet wishes to accompany a party of travellers; even the statement that the lover is unreachable, and that the route leading to him is barred: all of these convey the idea of a journey, whether an actual journey or one made in spirit only. ... In the love poetry, this concern with journeys and other forms of movement serves as an organising principle, a structural device which gives the content of the poem in [*sic*] a coherent shape (Orbell 1977: 300).

While journeys are often used as structural devices in *waiata aroha* they feature in very few formulaic phrases. Instead a variety of words and phrases is used to realise the path metaphor.

5.2.1.1 Orbell's *waiata*⁷⁸

The most common phrase depicting journeys in the songs chosen by Orbell centres on the word *whai*, 'to follow', the most common formulation of which is *whai noa/rawa atu*.

Whai noa atu ana i te tai heke rāwaho,

In vain I followed the tide ebbing outwards (Song 22: 3).

Whai noa atu ai, ka huri atu nā koe ii!

Still as I follow, you turn away ii! (Song 27: 8).

Whai rawa atu nei, kore rawa i anga mai!

Pursue you as I may, you will not turn to me! (Song 35: 6).

Another variant used in two songs is *me i whai/whāia*.⁷⁹

Me i whai au te hikinga wae nō Hihi

⁷⁷ These are Sir George Grey's *Ko ngā mōteatea, me ngā hākirara o ngā Māori* (1853) and C.O.B. Davis's *Māori mementoes* (1855) (respectively) (Orbell 1977: 304-5).

⁷⁸ Many of Orbell's selection also appear in Ngata and Te Hurinui's publications.

⁷⁹ *Whāia* is the passive form of *whai*.

If I had followed the lifted feet of Hihi (Song 40: 6).

Me i whāia ana e au ākuanei, kore rawa i anga mai!

If I follow after, you will not turn to me! (Song 92: 4).

The word *ara* is used in three of the songs in Orbell's collection. Twice it is used in the formulaic phrase *ko te ara tonu ia i whanatu ai*:

Ko te ara tonu ia e whanatu ai taku tōrere,

Oh that was the path by which my sweetheart went! (Song 91: 2).⁸⁰

Although travelling is mentioned in another twelve songs there is no commonality in the forms of expression and a wide range of words are used. To give three examples:

Kia pāmamao ai taku haere ki reira ei!

Let me travel far hence, ei! (Song 5: 6).

Nei ka hīkoi te horo ki Papango --

I will stride forth to the landslide at Papango – (Song 19: 13).

Tuku noa nei au i te tira nōu nei rā, e Hoki,

Allow me to go with your travellers, Hoki (Song 41: 3).

Even when path to bring together – separation of death

Te tōnga o te rā, ...

Waiho nei, whanatu, whanatu nā!

The setting of the sun, ...

It remains for me to set forth! (Song 99: 8 & 10).

5.2.1.2 Ngata and Te Hurinui's waiata

In the *waiata aroha* in Ngata and Te Hurinui's books, paths are also associated with the departed lover.

Auahi ka patua ki Whataroa rā ia,

Ko te ara o te ipo, e.

Of the smoke against Whataroa over yonder,

Marking the pathway of the beloved (Song 98: 3-4).

⁸⁰ This is also Song 229 in Ngata and Te Hurinui. The other Orbell *waiata aroha* which uses this phrase is Song 52: 10. There is also an example of a *waiata tangi* which uses this phrase: see section 5.2.3.

In the following example a reference is made to *te ara o Tāwhaki*, the pathway of Tāwhaki, a phrase which more commonly appears in *oriori* (see section 5.2.2). Tāwhaki is a legendary ancestor who ascended to the heavens.

Te ara o Tāwhaki i piki ai ki runga,

For that is the pathway whence Tāwhaki ascended on high (Song 120: 3).

The following excerpt is of interest in that it contains the phrase *whai ki te ara* which is similar to the *whai i te* phrasing we saw in the informants' use of the path metaphor.

Whakaaro iho ai,

He kauwae anō

Me whai ki te ara.

I have thought,

While speech remains,

The trail should be followed (Song 187: 6-8).

Two songs associate pathways with ancestors.

E anga tō mata ki te ao o te tonga,

Ki te ara haerenga o tō tupuna,

Turn, therefore, your gaze to the south

And follow the pathway of your forbear (Song 51: 27-28).⁸¹

In none of the *waiata aroha* from either collection is the word *huarahi* used. The word *ara* is used exclusively for the idea of a path.

At first glance it may seem that the use of these images in *waiata aroha* to refer to journeys is not strictly speaking metaphorical in that the composer is referring to actual paths, travelling parties, and so on. But as Orbell notes, references to paths and travelling parties are used as a device to evoke the memory of the departed lover who is the focus of most *waiata aroha* (Orbell 1977: 300-301). The mention of people and places associated with the departed lover, like the path he took when leaving, would evoke in those listening the idea of the actual lover himself. It is a common device in Māori poetry to refer to aspects of the natural environment to represent emotions of the singer. Thus, in this case, the path or travelling party represents the departed lover and the separation which has ensued. While we might think of paths as being a way of linking us to the departed person, in these formulae, they evoke the opposite, and represent separation.

⁸¹ The other is Song 154: 21.

5.2.2 Oriori

This section will analyse the use of the path metaphor in *oriori*, lullabies, using examples taken from the first three volumes of Ngata and Te Hurinui's four volume series *Ngā mōteatea*. Journeys form an important element of *oriori*.

Although the songs honour the boy⁸² for whom they are composed, it is typical of Māori poetry that they should often describe an unhappy political situation from which, when he becomes a man, he must rescue his tribe. Thus the boy, who is often said to be crying, is sent forth in the poem on a journey to his kinsmen, who will welcome him and give him their support (Orbell 1978: 61).

As such the journey becomes a convenient discourse organising device, one which allows the inclusion of various conventional images. The sense of movement involved in a journey also adds an element of interest into what might otherwise be a loose string of honorifics.

The word *ara* is the word usually employed in *oriori* to refer to the path the child must take throughout life.⁸³ This begins with path into the world, the child's journey along the birth canal into *te ao mārama*, the world of light.

Ka mārō tama i te ara namunamu ki te taiao;

You, O son, remained steadfast on the narrow pathway to the wide world (Song 201: 12).

Often the path mentioned is that of the ancestral figure Tāwhaki who ascended to the sky on a mission to avenge the death of his father. Presumably the invocation of his name is designed to inspire the child for future success in life.

*E piki ki runga rā, te ara o Tāwhaki,*⁸⁴

Climb up yonder, by the pathway of Tāwhaki (Song 219: 5).

The pathway of another ancestral figure, Tāne-mahuta, is used for similar effect.

Haramai, e tama, i te ara ka takoto i a Tāne-matua;

Come, O son, upon the pathway of Tāne-the-parent (Song 201: 31).

The journey outlined in the *oriori* will often take the child through places where supportive kinsmen reside.

⁸² Orbell (1978: 61) notes that *oriori* 'are occasionally addressed to girls, but more often to boys.'

⁸³ There is one example of *huanui* in Song 270: 22 but no examples of *huarahi*.

⁸⁴ See also Songs 215: 13 & 215a: 13.

Takahi ō waewae ngā one kirikiri ki Okokako.
Hohoro te whakaputa i te kōngutuawa i Otutira.
Kitea mai koe e Te Rangikaiwhiria.
Tōhou ara nā e haere ai koe ngā tītahatanga kei Whakapipi;
Stride forth then across the sandy beach of Okokako.
Hurry onwards past the river's mouth at Otutira,
Where you will be seen by Te Rangikaiwhiria.
That is the pathway for your proud journey to Whakapipi (Song 75: 17-20).

In the following example direction from the ancestors is associated with knowledge.

I te hiringa taketake ki te ao mārama;
*Ka waiho **hei ara** mō te tini e whakarauika nei,*
Implanting of sacred knowledge of the world of light;
Left as a pathway for the myriads who come and go (Song 201: 76-77).

However, on some occasions the child will be warned of possible dangers and likely impending warfare.

Noho kau ake nei tāua, e hine,
*Te puru ki Tuhua, ki **te ara** o te riri.*
In solitude we here abide, O daughter,
At the plug of Tuhua, astride the trails of war (Song 138: 12-13).

Words other than *ara* can be used to employ the path metaphor such as in this example, also about the dangers of warfare.

Me aha, e tama e, he tūranga riri,
He tūranga pāhekeheke;
There is nought else, O son, in times of war,
It is indeed a slippery trail (Song 158: 37-38).

Dangers from sorcery were also a potential concern to a child likely to face a leadership role in the tribe.

*Nā te mate whaiwhaia hoki rā i mānene ai i **te ara**;*
'Tis the killing by witchcraft that besets the pathway (Song 215a: 57).

In this *oriori*, after travelling a number of various difficult ridgetop routes to visit relatives, the child is finally told:

Ka haere tātau i te ara ngāwari,

Let us now go by the easy pathway (Song 209: 72).

The end of another *oriori* contains the idea of a path leading to something treasured:

Ko te ara rā tēnā, e tama,

I horahia mai ai te kura i te ruru,

That is the pathway, O son,

Where the treasured thing was displayed in the shelter (Song 272: 39-40).

In summary, the idea of a journey appears frequently in *oriori* and the word ‘path’, realised with the word *ara*, is commonly employed. The paths the child is encouraged to follow are often those to living relatives, or the paths of exalted ancestors. These paths may be difficult, but ultimately rewarding. In short, these usages conform to the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY.

5.2.3 **Waiata tangi**

This section will analyse the use of the path metaphor in *waiata tangi* using examples taken from Ngata and Te Hurinui’s four volume series *Ngā mōteatea*. *Waiata tangi* are laments for the dead in which the dead person is addressed and lauded. Ngata gives *waiata tangi* special recognition, as, he says,

embedded in them are the most sacredotal [*sic*] words of the Māori language; in those songs are the famous sayings of the ancestors from Hawaiki (A. T. Ngata 1972: xviii).

In *waiata tangi* the deceased person is typically encouraged to follow the pathway of their ancestors to the afterworld. The path to the afterworld takes one of two forms. In the most well-known format the spirit of the departed wends its way to Te Rēinga at the top of the North Island by way of well-known landmarks that are mentioned in the song.⁸⁵ As in *oriori* the word *ara* is frequently used.

Kia tika, e tama, i te harakeke tapu,

I te Uru-o-te-ahu, i runga o Tāniko ...

Tē kite no[a] au i te ara ki te Rēinga,

Kia horomia iho ko Hine-nui-te-pō!

Proceed onward, O son, to the sacred flax

At Te Uru-o-te-ahu, on the summit of Tāniko, ...

⁸⁵ The ultimate destination after leaving Te Rēinga is variously referred to as Paerau, Pō, Hawaiki, or Rarohenga, (the afterworld). See Oppenheim (1973) for more information and references to traditional Māori funerary customs and beliefs.

Would that I could find the pathway to Te Rēinga,
So that I might devour Hine-nui-te-pō (Song 172: 22-23, 47-48).

The second form of path leads not over land to Te Rēinga but up into the sky. ‘This association honoured the person, and at the same time sent their wairua on its pathway to the stars’ (Orbell 1995: 194). In using this image reference is made to Tāwhaki who has also been mentioned in the sections on *waiata aroha* and *oriori*.

E piki, e tama, te ara o Tāwhaki,
He ara kai ariki, nā i
Ascend then, O son, the pathway of Tāwhaki,
The pathway oft trodden by high chiefs, *nā i* (Song 172: 13-14).

In this example the deceased is encouraged to follow the path of a famous ancestor.

Haere rā, e hika, i te ara
I haere ai tō tipuna, a Ruatapu.
Farewell, dearest one, on the pathway
Taken by your ancestor, Ruatapu (Song 258: 12-13).

In this Taranaki lament Tonga-Awhikau is seen as following an ancestor Rehua into the sky.

Ko te ara tēnā i whano ai koe
Ki runga ki a Rehua,
Ka eke, e tama, ki te ara auhi, e.
Upon the pathway you went
On your way to Rehua;
Surmounting, O son, the steep trail (Song 300: 11-13).

Besides referring to the paths the deceased must take after death the path metaphor could also be used to refer to the circumstances of the death itself. If the deceased died away from home then the path they took on departure can be referred to. In this way mention of the path evokes three associated ideas: the deceased person themselves, the initial separation of their departure and their final separation through death. The following two quotes give examples of this association.

Ko hea tō ara i haere ai koe?
Ko te ara o aitu, e i.
By what pathway hast thou gone?
It was, alas, the pathway of death, *e i* (Song 254: 14-15).

*Hei hoatu, hei **ara** mōhou,*
E whano ai koe ki te mate nā, i.
 This then was your pathway
 Whereon you hastened to your doom, alas (Song 110: 7-8).

In this example a formulaic phrase which appeared in two *waiata aroha* is employed.⁸⁶

Tērā ia ngā pikitanga Tīpare o Niu, e;
***Ko te ara tonu ia i whanatu ai** koe rā.*
 The trails that lead upwards, at Tīpare-o-Niu,
 Which thou didst ascend, my beloved child (Song 2: 1-2).

The path metaphor could also be used to refer to death through treachery. This quote is from a lament for Tara-Moana of Taranaki who was killed by a war party.

*Haere ai koe ki **te ara** tītaha,*
*Haere ai koe ki **te ara** kōhuru*
 You would travel on a by-way,
 which led you on the murderers' pathway (Song 274: 75-76).⁸⁷

The path metaphor could also be used to refer to death through carelessness. In this *waiata tangi* the death was regarded as due to the deceased's headstrong nature.

*Kei **ngā ara** tahataha nunui a Tiki-māeroero.*
 Perchance, 'twas on the steep trails of Tiki-the-heedless (Song 63: 32).⁸⁸

Death as a result of warfare was regarded as a noble demise.

*E tika ana koe i **te ara** kai riri i runga Tūrangārere,*
 You went by the war trail above Tūrangārere (Song 240: 29).

Ngata and Te Hurinui's books contain two examples each of the use of the word *huanui* for road, and *ara rīpeka* for crossroads in *waiata tangi*. This song contains examples of both.⁸⁹

*Koi hē ki **te ara rīpeka,***
*Kia tōtika atu i **runga i te huanui.***
 Lest he be lost at the cross-roads,
 Guide him aright upon the highway (Song 226: 8-9).

⁸⁶ Also *Kei whea tō ara i whanatu ai koe rā?* Where was the pathway whereon you went away? (Song 129: 4).

⁸⁷ The phrase *te ara kōhuru* is also used in Song 53: 8.

⁸⁸ This is one of the few examples in these *mōteatea* where the plural determiner is used.

⁸⁹ See Song 62a: 19 for the other example of *huanui*, and Song 41: 5 for *ara rīpeka*.

The notes to this song explain that *ara rīpeka* refers to witchcraft and black magic and quotes two proverbial sayings in which someone walking would cross their feet (A. T. Ngata & Te Hurinui 1980: 121). The effect seems to be that a crossroads indicates indecision and the potential for a wrong choice.⁹⁰

There is one example of the use of the word *huarahi* in *waiata tangi* in a lament for the demise of a whole tribe, Ngāti Parekawa.

Haere atu i tōu huarahi,

The pathway upon which ye all went (Song 74: 16).

A range of words other than a word for ‘path’ can be used to realise images associated with the path metaphor as shown in the following lament for Peehi Tūkōrehu who died in 1836 in a canoe mishap.

E tama! Ka hūpeke i tō whanaketanga,

Ka tanumi rawa koe ki tua o Pae-rau.

O Son! Striding boldly you went your way

Travelling headlong beyond the Last-horizon (Song 277: 16-17).

5.2.4 Proverbs

This section draws on the 2001 book by Mead and Grove entitled *Ngā pēpeha a ngā tīpuna*. As with *mōteatea* the preferred word for ‘path’ in the proverbs is *ara*. In the Mead and Grove book there is one example of the use of the word *huarahi* and twenty of the word *ara*. Although it is in the general nature of proverbs to be metaphorical there are a number of references to paths, such in as the following example, which seem to have a more literal application.

Kāpā he ara i te wao, tēnā te ara nā Hine-matakirikiri i waiho; e kore e tūtuki te waewae.

It is not as if it were a forest path, this is a path left by the Sand Maid, where the foot will not stumble (1076).

Bearing in mind this uncertain distinction between literal and metaphorical uses of the path image, there are several proverbs that advise to prepare your trip well before starting.

Kāhore he tārainga tāhere i te ara.

On the road there is no fashioning of a bird spear (940).

⁹⁰ In Tregear’s *Māori-Polynesian comparative dictionary* (1891) the word *rīpeka* does not appear in other Polynesian languages but the roots *li/ri* and *peka* do, with concomitant meanings to the Māori compound. However, the word *rīpeka* appears in the first dictionary of the Māori language (W. Williams 1844).

This proverb gives a warning about bad omens.

*He ngārara whakapae **huarahi**.*

A lizard lying across the path (588).

Contrary to the informants' use of the path metaphor some proverbs advocate less direct routes for achieving one's goal.

*Ehara **te ara** horipū; haere koa i te **ara** āwhio.*

Go by the roundabout route rather than by the direct one (96).

While the previous proverbs can have some literal reference there are a number which appear to use the path metaphor in a wholly metaphoric way. The following proverb, for example, uses the path metaphor to warn against procrastination.

*Haere koe i **te ara** a Taihoa, kia tae ai koe ki Aua-atu.*

Go by the road of By-and-by, arrive at Nowhere (290).

There are seven proverbs which refer to various ancestral figures. Two variants of the same proverb refer to Tangaroa, an ancestral figure associated with the sea. In this proverb Tangaroa personifies eels and warns against wily enemies whose route is not known.

*Ko Tangaroa **ara** rau.*

Tangaroa of many paths (1520 & 2219).

Three proverbs refer to Tāne, an ancestral figure associated with the forest. Here the path metaphor is used to provide a eulogistic phrase for a departed person.

*He mata mahore nō **te ara** whānui a Tāne.*

An open face on the broad path of Tāne (560)

This broad pathway of Tāne is also used in the following proverb which advises keeping the pathway of life clear of obstacles.

*Tumutumu pareā, rākau pareā, whānui **te ara** ki a Tāne.*

An open face on the broad path of Tāne (2571).

One refers to Tāwhaki and his ascent to the heavens, thereby alluding to difficult tasks.

*Ko **te ara** pikipiki o Tāwhaki ki te rangi.*

The ascending path of Tāwhaki to the heavens (1535).

One proverb gives encouragement to hold on to the paths of ancestors.

*Kei whati ngā rākau o te tatau pounamu i muri nei, kei pōhēhē koutou ki **ngā ara** kōrero a ō koutou tūpuna.*

Take care afterwards not to break the supports of the greenstone door, lest you stray from the precepts⁹¹ of your ancestors (1271).

Some proverbs refer to bad omens. This one refers to the fatal outcome for anyone who happened to cross the path of a war party.

*He aua kokoti ihu waka i te moana he aituā; ko Rākairoa kokoti i **te ara** taua i te tuawhenua.*

A herring crossing the bow of a canoe at sea is an evil portent equal to Rakaioara crossing the path of a war party on land (367).

In summary, the word *ara* appears in a number of proverbs. Some refer positively to the deeds of ancestors as inspiration for the present generations. Others give good advice about being prepared before setting out and being wary of hazards on the trail.

5.2.5 Summary

In conclusion, the three *mōteatea* formats and proverbs studied here feature a number of uses of the path metaphor. Several aspects are different to the informants' use of the path metaphor, in that:

1. The word *ara* is the preferred word for 'path', compared to *huarahi* which is used by the informants.
2. The key concept that paths represent in *waiata aroha* and *waiata tangi* is separation, whereas the informants use paths to refer to one's general life purpose.

These aspects are reflective of change in word preference and the different topics of the ancient poet and the modern language learner.

There are several similarities between the use of the path metaphor in *mōteatea* and proverbs and that of the modern informants.

1. The word for path is usually preceded by the singular definite article *te*.
2. In *oriori* and proverbs the key concept that paths represent is life purpose.
3. In all three forms of *mōteatea* and proverbs paths can be linked to ancestors.
4. In *oriori* and proverbs the difficulties of the path can be mentioned.
5. In *oriori* a positive goal can be mentioned.

⁹¹ Literally, the 'paths of speech.'

5.3 The Māori Bible

The following analysis of the Māori Bible is based on a study by Charteris-Black of the metaphor used in the English Bible. Charteris-Black found that the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY accounted for about 5% of the total metaphors in his sample, the majority of which were found in the Old Testament. The lexical field JOURNEYS was the eight most frequent metaphor source domain in the Bible sample (Charteris-Black 2004: 181).⁹² Because this metaphor is so productive, the following discussion has been divided into three sections. Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 analyse aspects of the concept of paths in the Māori Bible while section 5.3.3 examines the idea of ‘following.’

5.3.1 The path

The missionaries’ translation of the Old and New Testaments into Māori was largely made directly from Hebrew and Greek rather than English (see, for example, H. W. Williams 1975: 6 & 14). A brief analysis of the Old Testament texts revealed that there seemed to be no consistency in translation of the words ‘*orach*, *derek*, *shabiy*, *nathiyb*’ in the original Hebrew with both *ara* and *huarahi* appearing for most of these words. Again, a check of the words *path*, *road* and *way* in the King James’ Version and the New International Version of the Old Testament texts also revealed no consistency as to how these words were rendered in Māori.

Figure 5.1 shows that in the English version of the Old Testament texts there is a clear tendency to use the words ‘way’ or ‘ways’ in preference to ‘path’ or ‘paths.’⁹³

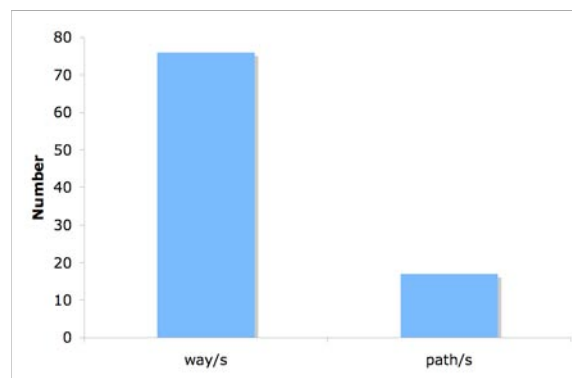


Figure 5.1. Number of occurrences of the words way and ways and path and paths in Job and Psalms in the New International Version of the Bible.

The noun *way* has a range of meanings in English with the meaning of *path* coming well down the list in terms of frequency of use. The most common meanings are ‘method, style, or manner

⁹² The other seven more frequent source domains were: animals, conflict, plants, light, building/shelter, food and drink and the body.

⁹³ There are roughly similar numbers of singular and plural forms for both words.

of doing something’ (for example, ‘a different *way* of looking at things’) or ‘the typical manner in which someone behaves or in which something happens’ (for example, ‘that’s her *way* of doing things’) (Soanes & Hawker 2005: 1175).⁹⁴ These metaphoric meanings have developed from the *path* meaning to become the predominant meanings of the word *way*. Nowadays the word *way* has become a dead metaphor in English, that is, the metaphor in the sentences given above would normally go unnoticed by most speakers of English.

Turning to the Māori texts, the word *ara* occurs far more frequently than the word *huarahi*, in this respect echoing the dominance of *ara* in the *mōteatea* texts. As Figure 5.2 shows, *ara* occurs most frequently in the Old Testament texts.⁹⁵

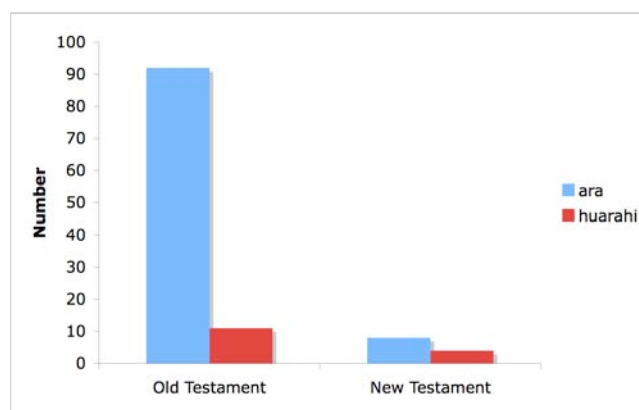


Figure 5.2. Number of metaphorical occurrences of *ara* and *huarahi* in selected Old and New Testament texts from the online version of the Māori Bible.

We will look at the use of *ara* and *huarahi* in the Old Testament texts first. The ‘way/s’ that are talked about in Job and the Psalms are equally divided between referring to God’s way/s and the way/s of humans. The following refers to people learning about God’s way.⁹⁶

Ka arahina e ia te hunga māhaki i runga i te whakawā: ka akona hoki e ia te hunga māhaki ki tana ara (Ngā Waiata 25: 9).

He guides the humble in what is right and teaches them his way (Psalm 25: 9).

The following invocation to God refers to his ways.

Ka whakaaroaro ahau ki āu ako, ā, ka whai mahara ki āu huarahi (Ngā Waiata 119: 15).

I meditate on your precepts, and consider your ways (Psalm 119: 15).

⁹⁴ Unlike most traditional English dictionaries the order of entries under headwords in the *Compact Oxford English dictionary* (Soanes & Hawker 2005) are based on data from the Oxford English Corpus. In the dictionary ‘definitions focus on the typical meanings of words and are written so as to enable the user to understand the meaning of a word quickly and easily (Soanes & Hawker 2005: iv).

⁹⁵ *Ara* occurs more frequently in Job than in the Psalms at a ratio of 3: 1.

⁹⁶ The word *way* in the English Bible refers to behaviour arising out of character.

When referring to God's way there is usually no description about the nature of the way. On the few occasions when the words *ara* or *huarahi* are qualified by an adjective, God's way/s and path/s are described variously as straight, righteous, perfect, everlasting or holy.⁹⁷

E Ihowa, whakaakona ahau ki tāu ara; arahina ahau i te ara tika, he hoariri hoki ōku (Ngā Waiata 27: 11).

Teach me your way, O LORD; lead me in a straight path because of my oppressors (Psalm 27: 11).

When referring to human ways, there is often reference to humans following God's laws.

I whakaaro ahau ki ōku ara: ā anga ana ōku waewae ki āu whakaaturanga (Ngā Waiata 119: 59).

I have considered my ways and have turned my steps to your statutes (Psalm 119: 59).

Often there is an invocation to God to provide guidance.⁹⁸

Whakakitea ki ahau āu ara, e Ihowa; whakaakona ahau ki āu huarahi (Ngā Waiata 25: 4).

Show me your ways, O LORD; teach me your paths (Psalm 25: 4).

When qualified by an adjective human ways are either good or bad. Good ways are described as being righteous, perfect or blameless. Bad ways are described as being wicked, wrong, violent, sinful, evil or crooked.⁹⁹

E mātau ana hoki a Ihowa ki te ara o te hunga tika: ko te ara ia o te hunga kino e ngaro (Ngā Waiata 1: 6).

For the LORD watches over the way of the righteous, but the way of the wicked will perish (Psalm 1: 6).

There were only twelve examples of the words *ara* and *huarahi* in the New Testament texts. Three verses refer to John the Baptist's role as messenger preparing the way for the arrival of Jesus. These verses quote an Old Testament prophecy (Isaiah 40: 3).

Ko ia hoki tēnei mōna te mea i tuhituhia, 'Nā, ka tonoa e ahau taku karere ki mua i tōu aroaro, māna e whakapai tōu ara ki mua i a koe' (Matiu 11: 10).

⁹⁷ Of the 41 references to God's way/s in the Old Testament texts, only nine are qualified by adjectives.

⁹⁸ This is one of the four examples in the Old and New Testament texts where both *ara* and *huarahi* appear in the same verse.

⁹⁹ Of the 50 references to human way/s in the Old Testament tests there are 11 references to positive human ways and 15 references to negative ways.

This is the one about whom it is written: ‘I will send my messenger ahead of you, who will prepare your way before you’ (Matthew 11: 10).¹⁰⁰

There are several references in the New Testament to there being a gate to God’s way, one using the phrase *huarahi tomokanga* (literally, path of entry) to refer to Jesus being the gate to salvation.

*Ko ahau te tatau: ki te waiho ahau hei **huarahi tomokanga** mō tētahi, e ora ia ...*
(Hoani 10: 9).

I am the gate; whoever enters through me will be saved ... (John 10: 9).

In two adjacent verses this gate and the path beyond it are described as narrow.¹⁰¹

*He kuiti hoki te kūwaha, he kikī **te ara** e tika ana ki te ora, ā, he tokoiti te hunga e kite* (Matiu 7: 14).

But small is the gate and narrow the road that leads to life, and only a few find it
(Matthew 7: 14).

The basic tenet of Christian belief is that Jesus is the son of God. God’s way as described in the Old Testament texts is now, in the New Testament texts, equated with his son. The way of God, the way to God, is through belief that his son died on the cross for our sins. That is, Jesus himself becomes the way of salvation, the way to salvation. This aligning of Jesus with God’s way culminates in one of the most well-known verses in the New Testament.

*Ka mea a Ihu ki a ia, ‘Ko ahau **te huarahi**, te pono, te ora: e kore rawa tētahi tangata e haere ake ki te Matua, ki te kāhore ahau’* (Hoani 14: 6).

Jesus answered, ‘I am the way and the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me’ (John 14: 6).

5.3.2 The right path

Since the phrase *huarahi tika* appeared in many of the informants’ speech I checked for this phrase through the whole of the Māori Bible. It only appeared twice, once referring to ‘level paths’ (Hebrews 12: 13)¹⁰² and the other (Genesis 24: 48) referring metaphorically to Abraham’s servant being led on ‘the right road’ to find a suitable wife for Abraham.

¹⁰⁰ See also Matthew 3: 3 and John 1: 23.

¹⁰¹ See also Matthew 7: 13.

¹⁰² This phrase *level paths* also appears in Proverbs 4: 26 but is translated slightly differently in the Māori Bible: *Whakatikaia te huarahi o ōu waewae* (literally, make level the path of your feet).

The phrase *ara tika* appears nine times in the whole of the Māori Bible. Seven uses are metaphoric. In the English of the New International Version the phrase usually refers to ‘right’ or ‘straight’ ways or a blameless life.

... *Tēnā ko tēnei, me whakaako koutou e ahau ki **te ara pai**, ki **te ara tika*** (1 Hamuera 12: 23).

... And I will teach you the way that is good and right (1 Samuel 12: 23).

Another variant of *ara tika* which appears eight times in the Māori Bible is *ara o te tika*. It is usually translated into English as ‘the paths/way of righteousness.’

*He ora kei **te ara o te tika**; kāhore hoki he mate i **tōna ara*** (Ngā Whakataukī 12: 28).

In the way of righteousness there is life; along that path is immortality (Proverbs 12: 28).

A check for the phrases *ara a/o te Atua* and *huarahi a/o te Atua* (way of God) in the Māori Bible found four of the former and one of the latter. In this example the disciples of the Pharisees asked Jesus,

... ‘*E te Kaiwhakaako, e mātau ana mātou he pono koe, e whakaako ana koe i **te ara a te Atua** i runga i te pono ...*’ (Matiu 22: 16).

... ‘Teacher, ... we know you are a man of integrity and that you teach the way of God in accordance with the truth ...’ (Matthew 22: 16).

5.3.3 Following

The most common formulaic phrase for the path metaphor amongst the informants was *whai i te huarahi* but neither this phrase nor *whai i te ara* appear in the Māori Bible. The following is the closest example.

*He mea whakarihariha ki a Ihowa **te huarahi** o te tangata kino: ko te tangata ia e **whai** ana i **te tika** tāna e aroha ai* (Ngā Whakataukī 15: 9).

The LORD detests the way of the wicked but he loves those who pursue righteousness (Proverbs 15: 9).

A search for the verb *whai*¹⁰³ in the Old Testament texts revealed twelve metaphorical examples, most of which referred to the dangers of following evil ways, in this case, following lustful thoughts.

¹⁰³ The word *whai* has a range of other meanings in Māori, most notably ‘have, acquire’ which is added to nouns to form an adjectival compound. The following discussion excludes these other forms of *whai*.

*Ki te mea i kotiti kē tōku hīkoinga i te ara, ā i **whai** tōku ngākau i ōku kanohi; ā ki te mea i mau te tongi ki ōku ringa* (Hopa 31: 7).

If my steps have turned from the path, if my heart has been led by my eyes, or if my hands have been defiled (Job 31: 7).

Only one example of *whai* in the Old Testament texts directly referred to following God's ways:

*Mō rātou i tahuri kē i te **whai** i a ia, kīhai hoki i whakaaro ki tētahi o **ōna ara*** (Hopa 34: 27).

Because they turned from following him and had no regard for any of his ways (Job 34: 27).

There was one example of *whai* referring to following what is good:

*He hoariri anō ki ahau te hunga e utu ana i te pai ki te kino: mōku e **whai** ana i te pai* (Ngā Waiata 38: 20).

Those who repay my good with evil slander me when I pursue what is good (Psalm 38: 20).

The verb *whai* occurred eleven times in the New Testament texts. Five of these were in a recurrent phrase which referring to people who wanted Jesus killed, *e whai ana kia whakamatea ahau* (literally, 'pursuing [an agenda] so that I am killed'). There were two verses referring to wanting glory (*e whai ana i te kororia*, literally, 'following glory'). There were two examples where *whai* was used to refer to following Jesus.

*Nā ka mea ngā Parihi ki a rātou anō, 'Ka kite rānei koutou kāhore ā koutou wāhi? Nā kua riro te ao ki te **whai** i a ia'* (Hoani 12: 19).

So the Pharisees said to one another, 'See, this is getting us nowhere. Look how the whole world has gone after him!' (John 12: 19).

Instead of using the word *whai* to mean 'to follow, pursue' the Old and New Testament texts also used the word *aru* which has a similar meaning. The following verse uses both words.

*Kātahi a Ihu ka mea ki ana ākonga, 'Ki te mea tētahi kia haere mai ki te **whai** i ahau, me whakakāhore ia e ia anō, me amo tōna rīpeka, ka **aru** ai i ahau'* (Matiu 16: 24).

Then Jesus said to his disciples, 'If anyone would come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross and follow me' (Matthew 16: 24).

Three of the seven Old Testament verses which used *aru* metaphorically were referring to pursuing enemies.

*Kia **arumia**¹⁰⁴ tōku wairua e te hoariri, ā kia mau ...¹⁰⁵* (Ngā Waiata 7: 5).

Then let my enemy pursue and overtake me ... (Psalm 7: 5).

One well-known verse in the Psalms talks about goodness following the speaker, David.

*He pono e **aru** i ahau te pai me te atawhai i ngā rā katoa e ora ai ahau, ā ka noho ahau ki te whare o Ihowa ake tonu atu* (Ngā Waiata 23: 6).

Surely goodness and love will follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the house of the LORD forever (Psalm 23: 6).

Only one verse refers to following God's righteous way.

*Engari e hoki te whakawā ki te tika: ā e **arumia** e ngā tāngata ngākau tika katoa* (Ngā Waiata 94: 15).

Judgment will again be founded on righteousness, and all the upright in heart will follow it (Psalm 94: 15).

There are 38 occurrences of *aru* in the New Testament texts and all except three refer to the disciples and others following Jesus. Most of these verses are therefore literal but some have metaphorical overtones as shown in the story where Jesus called Simon Peter and Andrew to be his disciples.

Nā ka mea ia ki a rāua, 'Arumia mai ahau, ā māku kōrua e mea hei kaihao tangata' (Matiu 4: 19).

'Come, follow me,' Jesus said, 'and I will make you fishers of men' (Matthew 4: 19).

Here Jesus is asking the two fishermen to literally put down their nets and follow him as well as the metaphorically asking them to follow his beliefs.

Only eleven verses in the New Testament texts use *aru* metaphorically.

*I kī atu anō a Ihu ki a rātou, i mea, 'Ko ahau te whakamārama o te ao: ki te **aru** tētahi i ahau, e kore ia e haere i te pōuri, engari ka whiwhi ki te mārama o te ora'* (Hoani 8: 12).

When Jesus spoke again to the people, he said, 'I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will never walk in darkness, but will have the light of life' (John 8: 12).

¹⁰⁴ This is the passive form of *aru*.

¹⁰⁵ The other two verses are: Psalm 7: 1 and Psalm 18: 37.

There are a few other verses in the Old and New Testament texts which talk about following God's way without using *aru* or *whai*. For example, this verse uses the words *takahanga* (footsteps) and *peka* (to branch off) to evoke the same idea.

Mau pū ōna takahanga i tōku waewae; ū pū ahau ki tōna ara, kīhai hoki i peka kē (Hopa 23: 11).

My feet have closely followed his steps; I have kept to his way without turning aside (Job 23: 11).

Another word used by the informants was *kotiti* (wayward). *Kotiti* appears eight times in the selected Old Testament texts and twice in the New. Its use is similar to that of the informants and refers to going astray in one's life.

Kua kotiti kē ahau me he hipi ngaro ... (Ngā Waiata 119: 176).

I have strayed like a lost sheep ... (Psalm 119: 176).

In the *mōteatea* texts we noted the use of the path metaphor in *waiata tangi* to refer to death. There is only one example in the Old and New Testaments texts where the image of a path is used to refer to death.

Kia taka mai hoki ngā tau torutoru nei, ka haere ahau i te ara e kore ai ahau e hoki mai anō (Hopa 16: 22).

When a few years are come, then I shall go the way whence I shall not return (Job 16: 22).

5.3.4 Summary

The important role of the path metaphor in the Bible can be seen by its use in modern biblical tracts designed to promulgate important aspects of the Christian message. Figure 5.3 shows the cover image from such a tract showing a signpost pointing to two different paths.

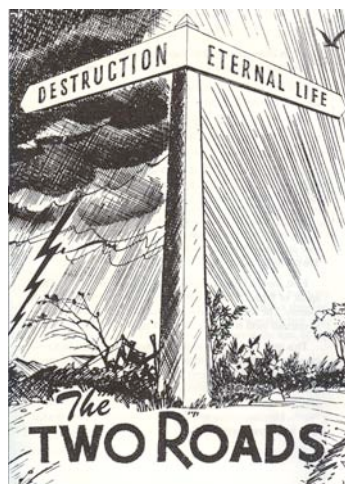


Figure 5.3. Cover illustration from Gospel Publications tract, n.d.

The tract draws on the path metaphor from various New Testament verses to promote the basic tenets of the Christian religion. It talks of three stages in a journey or faith: the beginning, the path itself and the goal. The beginning is ‘the step of faith in the Saviour, the new birth, [which] will start you on the way.’ ‘Upon repentance and personal faith in the Lord Jesus Christ’ a person enters the narrow gate to walk on the narrow way ‘travelled by few.’ The path itself is narrow, and uphill and ‘the way to heaven must be marked by progress, perseverance and purity of life’ and ‘it is impossible to have one foot on the way to heaven and the other on your old way of life.’ As for the goal of the journey ‘the narrow way leads to life’, meaning everlasting life (Gospel Publications, n.d.).

In summary, the main features of the path metaphor in the selected Bible texts are:

1. The English versions prefer the use of the word *way* (the way of God), a word which has become a dead metaphor.
2. Both God and human beings have their own *way* or *ways*.
3. Human ways can be good or bad.
4. In the Old Testament God’s way is positive and there are statutes to guide us along it.
5. In the New Testament Jesus becomes the way to God.

In comparing the words used to realise the path metaphor in the Māori Bible with the words used by the informants there are two main differences:

1. The word *ara* is preferred to *huarahi*.
2. The word *aru* is just as frequent as the word *whai*.

As Charteris-Black notes, the destination of the path metaphor in the Bible ‘is one of spiritual fulfilment culminating with the goal of a place in paradise, or salvation, rather than social progress’ (2004: 205). He therefore modifies the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual representation in the Bible to SPIRITUAL LIFE IS A JOURNEY and SPIRITUAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A GOAL.

5.4 Late 19th century Māori political writing

The sources analysed here show the development of the Māori metaphor in Māori thought. While there are examples of traditional and biblically-influenced uses of the path metaphor, Māori engagement with the government instrument of modernity, law, produced a range of innovative uses. These are discussed in separate sections below.

5.4.1 Traditional usages

The most immediately striking thing about the Māori writing in this period is how seamlessly an oral cultural style translates into a print medium (Head 2002: 135).

Examples of uses of the path metaphor certainly contain examples which show the translation of an oral style into print. This is most readily apparent in salutations to the dead and references to the ‘path of war’ which we have encountered in the various *mōteatea* forms (sections 5.2.1-5.2.3).

References to the dead were a common feature of Māori letters during this period. As with *waiata tangi* the dead are farewelled along the path of death trodden by their ancestors. This anonymous *waiata tangi* to Te Waitere Marumaru published in 1873 concludes with the phrase:

Piki atu e koro i te toimau o te rangi,

Te ara o Tāwhaki i kake ai ki runga (*Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirani*, 9(2), 13).

Climb up, o sir, to the pinnacle of the sky,

The path of Tāwhaki who ascended above.

Other conventional salutations which farewelled the deceased along the path of one’s ancestors also appeared in the Māori newspapers. In 1871 Wī Tako Ngatata notified readers of Tāmāti Te Hawe’s death and concluded with the following salutation to his departed friend:

Haere atu rā, e tama, i te ara o ō tūpuna, i te ara pai. Kāore he tangi kāore he auē, kāore he mamae. Haere atu rā! (*Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri*, 7(3), 6).

Farewell, son, along the path of your ancestors, the path of peace where there is no crying, no anguish and no pain. Farewell!

The following example uses the phrase *whai i te ara* to refer to the paths of the ancestors. This letter, written in 1882 by Reha Aperahama to the editor of *Te Korimako*, reflects concerns that the paper might not survive.

Tērā anō pea koe e whai i te ara o [ō] tūpuna i haere ai ki te pō.

Perhaps you will follow the path of your ancestors who have gone to the afterworld (*Te Korimako*, 4, 6).

The word *huarahi* was also used in the Māori newspapers to refer to the path of death as shown in this 1858 *poroporoaki* (farewell speech) for Rāwiri Pūaha by Te Ahitara Tangatangata, Te Watikene and others from the Manawatu.

Haere atu rā i tēnā huarahi e taea te aha aituā (Te Karere o Pōneke, 1(48), 4).

Go along that path of fate which cannot be avoided.

As noted in section 5.2.3 on *waiata tangi* another aspect of traditional use of the path metaphor was in reference to war. As the topic of many of the letters and debates under study in this section concerns the prospect of war there are a number of uses of the path metaphor which conform to this format. The following example expresses concern about the Waitara dispute,

... kei waiho hei ara mate mō mātou.

... lest it should continue to be a road to death for us (Kawepō 1861: 11L & 21L).

The phrase *ara mate* (road to death) is a metaphor for fighting. Another form of this idea is expressed in this translation of the chief Penetaka words at the surrender of Ngāti Hoko at Te Papa in July 1864.

I have led the Tauranga chiefs to death (*BPP* 1969: 102).

The following example refers to the religious and political leader Te Ua Haumene whose Hauhau movement was responsible for a number of violent incidents throughout the country during the 1860s. ‘Te Kura’ (The School) at Waerenga-a-hika composed a lament when Bishop Williams and his family were forced to flee after the mission station was burned by Hauhau soldiers. Published in 1865, this section of the lament expresses concern about the activities of Te Ua’s Hauhau religion.

Kia raru ai koe

I te ara o Te Ua;

Te ara o Waikato ei (Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri, 2(50), 6).

There’s trouble for you on Te Ua’s path,

The path of Waikato (Head 2002: 137).

There was much discussion in the early 1860s amongst Māori leaders about the Governor’s culpability over the Waitara purchase and how this opened up the path to war. The following is a translation of a letter written in 1861 by Wiremu Tamehana Te Waharoa.

The Governor was the cause of all these doings. He first commenced **that road**, and he (Wiremu Kingi) merely **followed** upon it (*BPP* 1970: 88).

The following passage from a letter by a Waikato *rūnanga* in 1861 promotes a war of words rather than an actual war to resolve the Waitara dispute. The extended image in this passage refers to a proverb examined in section 5.2.4. which advocated less direct routes.¹⁰⁶

Let our warfare be that of the lips alone. If such be the course pursued by us it will be **a long path**, our days will be many while engaged in fighting that battle. Let it not be transferred to the battle (fought) with hands. That is **a bad road, a short path**; our days will not be many while engaged with the edge of the sword. But do you, the first-born of God's sons, consider these things. Let not you and me be committed to **the short path**; let us take the circuitous one; though circuitous its windings are on firm land (*BPP* 1970: 89).

These examples confirm that the Māori response to literacy allowed for the expression of traditional Māori images and formulaic expressions, in particular, in these examples, references to the paths travelled by the dead, and the association of paths with warfare.

5.4.2 Biblical references

There can be no doubt but many of the leading men are influenced by ... regard for the truths of the Bible (Buddle 1860: 23).

There are a number of examples of the use of the path metaphor in the 19th century sources which are either direct references to the Christian god or are biblically-influenced. For example, there are numerous references to the ways of God. When the chief Tāpīhana was explaining the Kingitanga motto: *te whakapono, te aroha, te ture* (faith, charity and law) he stressed how it was important to:

walk in **the ways** of God, and pray for peace upon all men (Buddle 1860: 31).

The following quote is from a translation of a speech of Wī Tamehāna Te Wāhāroa in 1861 follows the Old Testament idea that the path to follow are the God's statutes.

The Word of God is your **compass** to **guide** you – the laws of God (*BPP* 1970: 88).

¹⁰⁶ *Ehara te ara horipū; haere koa i te ara āwhio*. Go by the roundabout route rather than by the direct one (Mead & Grove 2001: proverb 96).

The following example in Māori written in 1859 submitted by Kipa Ngamoke specifically associates a path in life with God.

*Whakarongo mai e te rūnanga a te Atiawa ki **taku huarahi** e haere nei au, i **ahu** mai i te Atua (Te Haeata, 1(4), 3).*

Listen here, Te Atiawa council, to my path that I am travelling on, it comes from God.

In the Bible there was much emphasis in the Old Testament texts Job and the Psalms to humans following either good or bad paths (section 5.3.1). There are a number of examples in the late 19th century sources which use this image. In this letter published in 1890 Poauau is keen to institute rules in the Māori community to curb bad behaviour. One of his concerns relates to people who entice others from a proper lifestyle.

*Ngā tāngata e totohe ana ki te ako i ngā iwi kia takahia **ngā ara pai, tika** (Te Korimako, 1(8), 4).*

People who argue about teaching people to tread the paths which are good and straight.

The following is from a letter by Matiu Kapa from Kaikohe in 1898 giving greetings to the editors of *Te Tiupiri*.

*Kia ora kia ora, mō tō mahi pai, ki te kawē mai i ngā rongo tūārangi ki ēnei taringa muhukai, iwi Māori, e uru ai ki **ngā huarahi pai** (Te Tiupiri, 1(38), 2).*

Greetings, greetings to you for your good work to carry the news afar to these inattentive ears, Māori people, entering the paths of righteousness.

The Old Testament texts also referred to the ‘bad ways’ that humans could follow and this image appeared in a number of Māori newspapers. Often these bad paths were associated with alcohol as there was a strong temperance movement during this period. The following is an example from a letter by R. Whitiera Te Watatua of Ohinemutu published in 1884.

*Nō te mea hoki, e toru rawa ngā mate o te tangata, ina haere i runga i **taua huarahi kino** i te Rama (Te Waka Māori o Aotearoa, 5, 6).*

Because as well, there are three problems people have if they travel along that bad road of alcohol.

In this report from 1885 a young Māori lawyer had committed fraud and the newspaper warns other young people of repeating such a mistake.

Kei whai i te huarahi o tērā o [ō] koutou hoa kei tae he mamaetanga kino ki ō koutou tinana, me te pōuri me te whakamā ki ō koutou mātua me ō koutou whanaunga tae noa ki te iwi (Te Korimako, 39, 8).

So he won't follow the path of that one of your colleagues lest pain be inflicted on your bodies, and sadness and shame on your parents and relatives including the tribe.

Although often mentioned separately, there is an implicit tension between good paths and bad paths which is sometimes brought out explicitly when they are simultaneously referred to. The following example is a translation of words spoken by Tamihana Tarapipipi in 1864.

I was **leading** (them) to life, but they **stepped** over to death (*BPP* 1969: 144).

It is clear that in traditional Māori texts such as *waiata tangi* ancestors had a powerful positive place in the Māori worldview. The missionaries, in converting Māori to Christianity, emphasized the need for Māori to leave behind their old ways in order to follow the new way, that is, God's law. The old ways that the missionaries were particularly referring to were practices such as slavery, polygamy, cannibalism and warfare. In this translation of a speech by William Naylor of Te Awaiaia he equates the paths of old with warfare, advising his listeners to,

be admonished, take warning, lest we should turn aside into **the old path** that has been so long *whakatupued*¹⁰⁷ (forsaken, not trodden) meaning **the path of war**' (Buddle 1860: 48).

In this translation of a speech by Piripi Ngahuka evokes the image of a path although the word is not actually used.

We have now made a solemn compact. Let us now look before and not behind. The things of our ancestors are left behind; let not man lift them up again. We did in this way when the gospel came. Let us go on straight without turning our faces (*AJHR* 1860: 42).

In this quote Hāmiora Ngaropi, a Wesleyan Native Minister, refers to the killing of Pākehā in Taranaki, saying,

If you can justify such acts then I say such conduct is **the road** back to your teeth. Your teeth lie just behind, (i.e., if you return to one native custom it is the road back to cannibalism) (Buddle 1860: 51).

¹⁰⁷ Presumably *whakatapued* (the Māori word *whakatapu* with the English suffix 'ed').

This sentiment is repeated in another letter written in 1863 by Pine Tuwhaka when he is translated as saying ‘I am the man who will not **turn back** to the old Māori customs’ (BPP 1970: 505).

As noted by Charteris-Black (2004: 185-190) metaphors using the source domain *light* are common in the Bible and are based on the conceptual metaphor SPIRITUAL KNOWLEDGE IS LIGHT. The image of light was also potent in the traditional Māori worldview, daylight being ‘associated with life and well-being, and darkness with death and defeat’ (Orbell 1985: 67).

A commonly occurring feature in the late 19th century sources is the association of light with the path metaphor. This has no precedents in the traditional Māori sources we have examined but does appear in the Bible.

*He rama tāu kupu ki ōku waewae, he mārama ki **tōku ara*** (Ngā Waiata 119: 105).

Your word is a lamp to my feet and a light for my path (Psalm 119: 105).

As Charteris-Black (2004: 186) notes, ‘a light can be seen from afar and provides a source of guidance for someone who is lost.’

In the late 19th century sources there are a number of examples where this biblical association of light with paths is used. In the following quote Ruhana refers to clearing paths (*para i te huarahi*) to facilitate enlightenment.

Clear **the paths**, let there be light.¹⁰⁸ (Buddle 1860: 43).

In this example the Katipa addresses Tioriori, saying:

Your path is light Tioriori. Do that which is right and we shall have light (Buddle 1860: 55).

These quotes imply the existence of another path, a path of darkness. Probably the most famous use of the path metaphor in this period was made by Waata Paratene in 1859 where he associates both light and dark with paths.

*I taua tāima pēnā tōna āwhina tonu i **taua ara kotahi**, arā, i te pōuritanga (Te Haeata, 1(7), 4).*

At that time [my ancestors] befriended that one path, namely, darkness.

¹⁰⁸ Buddle explains this sentence as meaning ‘speak out that we may understand your movements.’ The phrase *para i te huarahi* is examined in section 5.5.1.1.

He continues on to say, in translation, that ‘for his generation, the coming of Christianity was like the appearance of a glow-worm and a lamp – both shedding light on an alternative course’ (Sutherland 2002: 103).

This idea also appears in the translation of a letter written in 1863 by Reihana Paipa where he describes his tribe as one,

which does not wish to return to the former works of darkness, but wishes to **follow** the light.’ (BPP 1970: 505).

By the 1860s there had been two generations of Māori raised under exposure to the new ideas of Christianity. The importance of Christianity in shaping Māori thought in the second half of the 19th century can be seen in the fact that ‘there was no post-1840 Māori leader with aspirations beyond the tribe who was not both literate and Christian’ (Head 2005: 60).

5.4.3 Modernity

As we found in the Old Testament analysis the path metaphor when associated with God was often associated with God’s laws. The Māori experience of modernity was strongly framed through Old Testament ideas and government officials reinforced these ideas by framing government law as an extension of God’s law on earth. The following excerpt from an 1873 letter by Poari Kuramate equates the path on which Māori are travelling as the path of law.

*E hoa, tēnā koe. Te tangata mōhio ki te kawekawe haere i ngā mahara a te tini ki ngā pito e whā o te ao, ki ngā wāhi pōuri hoki o tēnei motu, kia kite ngā rangatira, ngā hapū rānei, ngā iwi rānei, e peka kē ana ki tahaki o **te huarahi pai** e haere nei tātou, kāore nei he maunga, he pari, he awaawa, he reporepo, he aha noa atu, heoi anō he raorao anake. Ā, e noho ana anō ngā kai mahi o ngā wāhi pakaru o **taua ara** i tōna taha, e titiro ana ki ngā wāhi kino, ā, ka tae anō ki te mahi, kua pai anō; ko **tēnei ara** ko te Ture o te pākehā kua oti nei te whakatakoto ki te ao katoa, nō tērā taha o te ao tae noa ki tēnei pito o te ao. Ko ngā kai mahi o **tēnei ara**, ko ngā Kawana me ōna Āpiha, me ōna kai whakahaere tikanga, me ōna kai whakawā, ko rātou e noho ana i te taha o **te ara**, e mahi nā i ngā wāhi pakaru o **tēnei ara**; ā, e mahi nei anō aua kai-mahi i tā rātou nei mahi ināianei (Te Waka Māori o Niu Tireni, 9(5), 33).*

Friend, greetings to you. The person accustomed to carry the thoughts of the multitudes around the four corners of the world, and to the dark places of this country so that the chiefs, sub-tribes or tribes who are branching off to the side of the good path that we are all travelling along, can see that it has no mountains,

cliffs, valleys, swamps, or anything, it's just rolling countryside. The workers of the damaged portions of that path live along its side looking for the bad parts and when they fix them they are made good again. This path is the Law of the Pākehā which has been put in place throughout the world, from the other side of the world to this corner of the world. The workers of this road are the Governor, his officers, officials and judges and they live beside the path fixing the damaged parts of this path. These workers are doing their work at the moment.

Another example of the *huarahi pai* being associated with laws and government is in this 1860 letter from Tamihana Te Rauparaha to Governor Gore Browne:

*Ko tēnei rūnanga hei kai pōwiri i ngā iwi e haere hē ana i ngā ritenga tawhito o te Māori, kia hoki mai ki te **huarahi pai**, ki tā te Kāwana i whakarite nei hei painga mō ngā tāngata Māori o Niu Tirani, kia aroha tonu ai ngā iwi e rua, te Pākehā me te tangata Māori.*

Let this runanga be a beckoner to those who are going astray, following the old customs of the Māories, that they may come back into the good path which the Governor has pointed out as that by which the Māori race in New Zealand may attain to what is for their welfare, and the two races - the Pākehā and the Māori - may preserve mutual friendship (*The Māori Messenger – Te Karere Māori*, 7(18), 29).

In Fenton's expedition to talk to Waikato chiefs in 1857 and explain the importance of establishing Pākehā law in the area, Rakaupango is reported as saying (in translation):

Now for the first time I know and understand the **road** ... law first, and growth afterwards (*AJHR* 1860: 42).

That is, Pākehā law is associated with material advancement and an engagement with modernity.

Again, the link between Christianity, government law and material advancement is advanced by use of the path metaphor in the translated words of Takerei.

This is a **plain road**, grounded upon religion and love, and ending in property ... The law first, the other things will follow (*AJHR* 1860: 41).

The following is a quote from a speech by Major Ropata to the Whakatohea tribe in 1874.

E whai i te ara ki te ora mō te tangata.

Pursue the road that leads to prosperity (*Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirani*, 10(1), 10).

The benefits of consumerism had been noted by Te Naera Te Angiangi in 1858.

*E hoa, ka nui anō tōku mīharo ki ētehi ritenga o te Pākehā; ko tēnei, e hoa, kia pai rā te mahi ki a mātou ki te iwi kūare, nō te mea e **kimi** atu ana i **ngā huarahi pai**, kia whiwhi ai mātou ki tētehi rawa mō mātou (Te Karere o Pōneke, 1(53), 2).*

Friend, I am greatly amazed at some customs of the Pākehā; and this, friend, how good they are to us ignorant people because (we) are searching for the good paths so we can acquire a benefit for us.

In the preceding quotes the path metaphor is associated with a positive view of modernity. However, probably the most potent use of the path metaphor in outlining the effects of modernity on Māori is in the following quote from an anonymous dream published in the Māori newspaper *Te Hōkioi*¹⁰⁹ in 1862. In this dream a child called Nuirapaki meets an old man with a sack full of treasure. Nuirapaki wants to know what is in the sack and to have some of the treasures. The old man insists that they have a horse race, which they do. While racing, tragedy strikes.

*Rokohanga atu ko ngā tamariki e haere ana i **te ara** takahia ana e te hōiho o Nuirāpaki (Te Hōkioi, 5, 4).*

They came upon some children going along the path, and Nuirāpaki's horse trampled them (Head 1990: 19).

The children killed on the path represented Māori in the new world and the passage reveals that, despite their curiosity and engagement with modernity, Māori held fears that they would not be able to compete equally with Pākehā in this new world and that the rules of engagement were constructed to have ill effects on the Māori populace.

5.4.4 Innovative usages

There are a few examples in the late 19th century sources in which Māori use traditional or biblical path metaphors in innovative ways.

We are familiar with references to Tāwhaki, Tāne or ancestors who provide a path for the dead to follow. The following example uses a figure from Māori mythology to refer not to death but to a way forward in the present. This excerpt is a translation of part of a song by Tainui chief Kiwi advocating peace with the Pākehā. Kiwi refers to Rongo, child of the first parents Rangi and Papa, who is associated with peace.

¹⁰⁹ This newspaper was printed in Ngāruawāhia from 1862 to 1863 by the Māori King movement on a printing press donated by the King of Austria. It ceased publication upon the outbreak of war between the government and the Waikato people.

Then men will say, How noble!
When Rongo marks **the path**,
And **leads the way** (Buddle 1860: 44).

This reference to ancestors providing a positive ‘way forward’ contrasts strongly with missionary influenced images which emphasize the importance of not following the ways of the past and leaving the deeds of the ancestors behind.

In the following quote we see a reference to there being two equally good paths for humans to follow. Neither traditional Māori uses or biblical uses of the path metaphor really allow for this. One of the implicit ideas in the biblical use of the path metaphor is that human beings have the choice of following either a good or bad path. The good path, the right path is associated with following God’s law. This path is usually referred to in the singular, that is, there is only one good path.

In explaining Māori intention behind the move to set up a Māori King, Ruia uses the path metaphor to explain that both the Māori King and Pākehā Queen are not mutually exclusive.

There are Catholics and Wesleyans and Churchmen in religious matters, and still one source. Why can we not have **two roads** and still unite about the law?’
(*AJHR* 1860: 40).

In the following translation of Rakaupango’s words he sees the developments of the King movement as requiring a choice by Māori between two options.

But I still want to know about **the two roads** – King or Queen ... tell me are we for the King or for the Queen (*AJHR* 1860: 42).

The idea here is that there are two equally good paths, in this case, one to be followed by Pākehā and one to be followed by Māori.

It is quite clear from the examination of early Māori sources that metaphorical uses of the word *ara* still referred to a path rather than a ‘way of being.’ The biblical use of the path metaphor introduced Māori to a further extension of the path metaphor where the path could be a mode or way of being. In the following quote and translation from Renata’s speech we see a move towards a more Pākehā style usage of the path metaphor.

*He patipati tā rātou kia whakatuwheratia **he ara** mō te hoko paura mā rātou.*

They had been scheming to get a way opened by which to buy some gunpowder
(Kawepō 1861: 5L & 16L).

5.4.5 Summary

The analysis provided here does not support Head's contention when she argues that an important feature of Māori political writing was

its independence of English conventions of expression, all the more impressive
for the fact that many writers were mission-educated (Head 2002: 136).

While cultural conventions in the use of the path metaphor were maintained in the format of giving greetings to those who had died and in reference to war, this analysis shows that Māori use of the path metaphor had been greatly extended by mission influence. This extension encompassed ideas of humans being guided along God's path by both God's and governmental laws. Biblical ideas of good and bad paths had been extended in that many old ways were perceived negatively, thus introducing the idea that the paths of the ancestors were inimical to participation in the modern world. There are also some examples of innovative usages which extend both traditional and biblical usages of the path metaphor. There are also examples of the words *ara* and *huarahi* being extended in their meaning to include some of the metaphorically dead meanings of the English word *way*.

5.5 Early 20th century Māori sources

In this section the use of path metaphors will be examined in the correspondence between Sir Peter Buck and Sir Āpirana Ngata and the songs of Tuini Ngāwai. Each use the metaphor in different ways, with Buck and Ngata referring to life paths in general and Ngāwai's lyrics placing more emphasis on biblical paths.

5.5.1 The Buck and Ngata correspondence

The Buck and Ngata correspondence was examined for use of the *path* metaphor. In referring to metaphorical paths the word *ara* is used four times (three times in the same letter), *huarahi* is used three times, the word *road* twice and *path* and *track* once each.

This letter by Buck in 1929 is one of only a few written entirely in Māori. It was written on the occasion of the death of Ngata's wife and son. Buck uses conventional imagery of departure and journey to refer to their deaths.

Kua wehe atu a Arihia rāua ko Te Makarini. Kua haere rāua i te ara takitini i te ara taki mano i te ara karere kore ki muri.

Arihia and Makarini have departed. They have gone along the path of the many, along the path of the thousands, along the path from which no messenger returns (Sorenson 1986: 189).

That is, this usage of *ara* is the same as those which appear in *waiata tangi* where the path being referred to is the path followed by the deceased.

In the remaining example, written by Ngata in 1950, Ngata is referring to his son Henry's achievements in public accountancy. Here the path being referred to is one's life path.

Heoi anō kei mua i a ia ngā nā māku, mehemea ka mau te ara o te tinanui.

Yet he has many days ahead of him, if he can forge his way ahead (Sorenson 1988: 255).

The following are the three examples of the use of *huarahi*. In the first, written in 1928, Ngata is talking about Buck's anthropological comparisons throughout Polynesia. He refers to western Polynesia as:

... ki te huarahi mai o ngā mea tipua nei.

... [the path by] whence came all these unique things (Sorenson 1986: 107).

In this letter written by Ngata in 1928 he refers to a visit of Te Puea Herangi and her party to Wellington.

*Hei **para** atu tēnei i **te huarahi** mō te rā ki Ngāruawāhia e heke iho nei.*

This will clear the way for the coming event at Ngāruawāhia (Sorrenson 1986: 127).

The phrase *para i te huarahi* which appears in this example is discussed separately in section 5.5.1.1 which follows.

In this letter by Ngata in 1934 he refers to someone's work as a counsel for a Māori group,

*hei **huarahi** ki runga ake.*

as a pathway to greater things (Sorrenson 1988: 158).

Turning to examples in the English language, there are two examples of the word *road* being used metaphorically. The first is in a letter written by Buck in 1928.

I have travelled a little way on **the road** to intellectual emancipation (Sorrenson 1986: 122).

The road he seems to be following is one's general 'path of life' but the goal is mentioned, and in this case, it is intellectual freedom.

In the following example from a 1933 letter by Ngata referring to solutions to the unemployment during the depression, it is the roads themselves which are doing the leading.

All **roads** are **leading** the politicians ... to favour small farming (Sorrenson 1988: 83).

In this extract from a 1928 letter by Ngata he uses both *path* and *track* to refer to intellectual thought.

You may or may not always be conscious of the mental **path** by which you approach a subject or if conscious may omit to point **the track** to others (Sorrenson 1986: 123).

With regard to other words used to embody the path metaphor, there are two examples, one in Māori, the other in English, of the words *whai* and *follow* being used metaphorically. This example from a 1933 letter by Ngata refers to his son's academic successes. The path referred to here is Ngata's own path through life.

*He mea whakaaroha tērā ki au, te rironga mā te pōtiki e **whai** a muri, ā e kore pea au e kite i **ōna tapu**ae ka mahana mai i muri.*

It touches my affections, that my last born should be the one to follow me and perhaps I will not see his footsteps following close behind (Sorrenson 1988: 117).

In his letter of reply in the same year Buck echoes Ngata's words with the corresponding English equivalents.

I hope he [Henry] will be able to **follow** in your **steps** in the scholastic world (Sorrenson 1988: 81).

There is one example each of the words *ārahi* and an English equivalent, *guide*, being used metaphorically in the letters. In this letter by Buck in 1931 he refers to the difficulties of dealing with incompetent Pākehā officials.

*Nō reira ka pai kia riro mā ō tāua toto tātou e **ārahi**, kia mate ko tāua anō.*

Thus it is good that we should be led by our own blood, and if there is failure, it is our own (Sorrenson 1987: 168).

Again, the path on which they are being led is, by inference, the 'path of life.' The same is true for the English example written by Ngata in 1928, referring to the need for genealogies to be preserved in archives as 'fundamental data for all our studies, ethnological and historical' (Sorrenson 1986: 114).

We have little else **to guide** us (Sorrenson 1986: 114).

There are two examples of the word *rut* being used to describe metaphorical paths. Again, in this letter by Buck in 1928, the path being referred to is the general 'path of life.'

The Samoans are in **the rut** of self satisfaction so deep (Sorrenson 1986: 144).

This example from a letter by Buck in 1931 refers to discussion between the two men about the progress of Māori land development schemes. The quote uses both *rut* and *way* metaphorically. While referring to the general path of life, this path is equated negatively with the paths/ways of old, echoing some of the sentiments expressed in the Christian influenced thought of the late 19th century.

The people who are in occupation have been there for a long time and have fallen into **a rut**. **The way** of their ancestors is good enough for them and they become hide bound by tradition (Sorrenson 1987: 113).

In this letter by Ngata in 1931 he uses the word *journey* to refer to the ‘path of life.’

The circle of friends and workers has widened since you crossed the water, but most of them joined up at later stages of **the journey** (Sorrenson 1987: 188).

Although this correspondence between Buck and Ngata covers the years 1925 to 1950 the correspondence was sporadic from 1937 onwards. In a letter written by Buck to Eric Ramsden in 1943 he uses an extended version of the path metaphor to touch on possible difficulties that may have led to the estrangement between him and his friend in later years. The quote is interesting as it is the only example in the Māori texts and corpora studied which does not refer to a path which is for walking on but instead invokes a mechanised way of travelling: a plough. The metaphor is extended, in that Buck continues the image with other words, alluding to the destination and direction of the path. Again, the path being referred to is the ‘path of life.’

I have **ploughed** a lonely furrow in my own way and if I have **got anywhere**, it is in a **direction** that does not clash or compete with Ngata’s particular line of genius (Sorrenson 1988: 256).

5.5.1.1 Clearing the path

This section gives a brief analysis of the phrase *para ... i te huarahi* which appeared in one of Ngata’s letters. It does not appear in the informants’ use of the path metaphor but has some currency in other contexts in modern speech. It is a formulaic phrase of the form *para* + (PARTICLE) + (SUBJ) + *i te huarahi* and appears to be of recent origin. It does not appear in the 19th century-based sources *Ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna* or *Ngā mōteatea* or the proverb collection *Ngā pēpeha a ngā tūpuna*.

The word *para* appears in W. Williams’s first *Dictionary of the New Zealand language* (1844) where one of the verbal meanings is given as ‘to cut down brushwood; to clear.’ The example and translation given shows the form of a classic transitive verb.

*E para ana a Pīwaka i tōna wairenga.*¹¹⁰

Pīwaka is clearing the cultivation (W. Williams 1844: 92).

This sentence appears in all subsequent editions of the dictionary and appears to indicate that the main traditional use of this word was with regard to Māori agricultural practice. That is, the referents are literal.

¹¹⁰ The spelling of this last word is corrected to *waerenga* in the third (W. L. Williams 1871) and subsequent editions.

To elicit possible early metaphorical appearances of *para* in association with either *huarahi* or *ara*, various searches were undertaken using the digital library collection of the Māori newspapers. Because the word *para* appeared 530 times in this collection it was not possible to check all occurrences of the word.¹¹¹ Accordingly, the search was refined to investigate the use of the phrases *para i te huarahi* and *para i te ara*.

Of four occurrences the phrase *para i te huarahi* appeared twice with a metaphorical meaning. Both examples were dated around 1910, and appeared in a Church of England publication. In the first example the verbal particle *ki te* was used to introduce the phrase, which appears in a report addressing and lauding the example set by the East Coast tribes in endorsing prohibition. In this case, published in 1911, the path refers to the human activity of agriculture.

*Ko koe anō te tuatahi **ki te para i te huarahi** ahūwhenua, e haere nei ōu rongō i ngā pito katoa o te Tominiona.*

For you were the first to clear the agricultural path, and your fame is known throughout all corners of the Dominion (*Te Pīpīwharaua*, 163, 2).

In the other example from 1912, which also refers to the prohibition issue, the prefix *kai-* is used to personify the action.

*Ko Horouta **te kaipara i te huarahi** mō tēnei take*

Horouta is the trail blazer with regard to this issue (*Te Pīpīwharaua*, 165, 2).

There were two examples of the phrase *para i te ara* in Māori newspapers published around 1910 and both were used metaphorically. In the first case from 1908, the discussion concerns church visits to various Pacific Islands. The path being referred to is the path of teaching Christianity.

*Kāore e pai ki tā māua whakaaro te kawē i te Māori ki tēnei moutere ināianei, engari me mātua tae wawe anō he mihinare Pākehā i te tuatahi **hei para i te ara**.*

We think that it wouldn't be right to transport Māori to this island at the moment, but to begin with a Pākehā missionary should properly arrive there soon to clear the path (*Te Pīpīwharaua*, 121, 5).

The second example from 1911 reports the results of prohibition votes for three East Coast areas in which one, Horouta, voted for the proposal. Thus the path refers to what we might call 'the path of life' with the goal being prohibition.

¹¹¹ A quick survey of some of the results yielded many which were not true occurrences of the word *para*, for example parts of names (*Parapara*) and hyphenated line endings (*para-oa*). Accordingly the true number of occurrences of *para* will be fewer, and then not all will be of this meaning of the word.

Ka riro ko Horouta hei para i te ara e kiia ana e ētahi ki te ora, e ētahi ki te mate.

It is up to Horouta to clear the path which some say is towards life, and which others say is towards death (*Te Pīpīwharaua*, 164, 11).

Because the format of this formulaic phrase can include various particles and subject phrases between the word *para* and the word *huarahi* or *ara* it was decided to conduct a search based on the word *para* but incorporating two of the verbal particles which had preceded it in the examples already found. Thus searches were conducted for both *hei para* and *ki te para*.

The phrase *hei para* occurred eight times, of which three were metaphorical. Of the five which were literal usages three referred to the word *huarahi*, that is, literally clearing paths. One referred to clearing away weeds. Two of the metaphorical usages have appeared above. The remaining example is much earlier than the preceding examples. It is from a speech by Tamihana Te Rauparaha in 1860 concerning the events at Waitara which led to war. Here he is talking about what seems to him is the best way to resolve the crisis.

Engari me waiho anō te Pākehā hei koata i te huarahi kia tika ai, ko ngā Māori hei para i ngā toetoe i ngā rākau kia mārama ai te ara. Tēnā, mā te Māori anake e mahi ka hē ki taku whakaaro.

Rather let the Pākehās direct the line of road, that it may be straight, and let the Māories cut away the toetoe and brushwood that the road may be open. If it is left to the Māories alone, in my opinion, it will go wrong (*The Māori Messenger* - *Te Karere Māori*, 7(15), 64).

The example is interesting in that it mentions the types of vegetation which are to be cleared from the road.

A search of *ki te para* yielded three metaphorical examples of seven verbal usages. Three of the four literal examples referred to clearing vegetation (*waerenga*, *manuka*, *rahurahu*). The other referred to clearing boundaries (*rohe*). Of the metaphorical examples one has been given above. Both of the two remaining are of the form *ki te para huarahi* which is a contraction of *ki te para i te huarahi* and are used to refer to clearing a path for Christianity. The first was published in 1885.

I tō whakaaturanga mai hoki i te haerenga o Tianara Korano ki te para huarahi mō te rongo pai o Ihu Karaiti.

And your explanation of General Gordon's journey to clear a path for the gospel of Jesus Christ (*Te Korimako*, 41, 4).

The second quote comes from a letter published later in the same year, written in reply to the first.

Nāna te whakaaro ki te para huarahi mō te rongopai māna anō te pātai.

Let he whose his idea it was to clear a path for the gospel ask the question (*Te Korimako*, 42, 7).

Both of these letters also used the phrase *para he huarahi* (clear a path). In the first, published in 1885, the correspondent Marahea asks whether Jesus gave any scriptural sanction for

mā te ringa kaha, mā te toto, e para he huarahi mō tana rongopai.

force and bloodshed to clear a path for his good news (*Te Korimako*, 41, 4).

In his reply, Ihaka Te Tai quotes back the same wording. Checking the phrase *para he huarahi* in the Māori newspapers database collection found a further example in 1925 complaining about the missionaries arrival in New Zealand paving the way for the migration of less desirable Pākehā.

Nā ngā mihinare i para he huarahi mai mō ngā pākehā tūtūā.

It was the missionaries who cleared a path for low-born Pākehā (*Te Toa Takitini*, 49, 276).

There were two references in Buddle's 1860 account of which appear to be translations of *para i te huarahi*. In the first, the chief Ruhana wants clarification.

Clear **the paths**, let there be light (Buddle 1860: 43).

In the other example Wiremu Hikairo uses the phrase to express doubts about the King movement's wider benefits.

You are clearing your own paths and spreading your own mat, talking about Whakapono,¹¹² but I am cold, a door has been opened to let in the wind, and it has blown directly upon me (Buddle 1860: 31).

In the following example from Ngāwai's songs it is God who will clear the way.

Mā te mātauranga o te Atua e

E para e hura he huarahi e

God's understanding

will pave and open all avenues (*Kua Eke Ki te Wā*: 95).

¹¹² Faith.

Searches of *para* occurring in close proximity with *huarahi* in the Māori Broadcast Corpus (which consists of recordings made in 1995-96) yielded eight examples showing the phrase used in a number of different verbal constructions. There were no occurrences of the phrase being introduced by either *ki te* or *hei* as in the examples from the Māori newspaper corpus.

There were two examples of the words being used in past and future actor emphatic constructions. In this example the speaker is referring to the fifteen Māori seats in parliament.

Mehemea ka uru atu tekau mā rima, mā rātou e para te huarahi e uru atu ai ētahi atu ki te kawē i a tātou katoa (mbc007).

If fifteen enter [parliament] they will clear the path so that others can enter to carry all of us.

There were two examples of the form *he para i te huarahi*. This example refers to Māori access to the benefits of producer boards.

Nā reira, ko tērā āhuatanga he, he para i te huarahi mā ngā iwi, ā, kei waho atu i te, i te Māori, ā, kia āhei ai rātou ki te tukutuku i wā rātou mea ki ngā wāhi e hiahia ana e rātou (mbc011).

Therefore, that aspect is a clearing of the path for the tribes and those other than Māori to enable them to send their goods to the places they want to.

There were two examples of *kei te para i te huarahi*. This example praises the work of Māori businesswomen.

He tika te kōrero, ko ā tātou wāhine kei te para i te huarahi e tutuki ai ngā wawata (mbc068).

It's true to say that our women are clearing the path to achieve their aspirations.

This speaker uses the formulaic to refer to language revitalisation, comparing the initiatives undertaken by Māori and comparing this with the situation for other Polynesian languages.

Ka tāmia e te reo Pākehā ki te kore rātou e whakatūpato. Nā, koia tēnei ko tātou tēnei e para nei i te huarahi (mbc247).

[Their languages] will be overwhelmed by the English language if they are not careful. So, this is, we are clearing the path.

A modern example of the use of *para* with *ara* comes from the pen of Tīmoti Kāretu in a description of those who attend Te Panekiretanga.¹¹³

¹¹³ Te Panekiretanga is discussed in section 2.4.1.

Te hunga kua riro nei mā rātou e para tēnei o ngā ara reo (Kāretu 2007:54).

The cohort who will clear this one of the [Māori] language paths.

It is impossible to be definitive but it seems highly likely that the verbal form of *para* with the meaning of ‘to clear’ was not used metaphorically in pre-contact times in that it does not appear in early texts in this way. Also indicative is the fact that all but one of the metaphoric examples from the Māori newspapers appear from 1885 onwards, the majority occurring in church publications after the turn of the century. It is rather tempting to suggest that the phrase *para ... i te huarahi* was a Māori translation of the English metaphorical phrase ‘to clear the way’ and the examples here are indicative of the gradual entrance of this formulaic phrase into the Māori language.

The following are features associated with this formulaic phrase:

1. Clearing a path implies the existence of obstacles. The existence and nature of these obstacles are rarely mentioned.
2. The clearing of the path can allow people to proceed on the path. Just exactly what this path is often not explicitly mentioned but generally seems to be what we might term as one’s life path.
3. Sometimes the clearing of the path allows people to follow a path which they have not been able to follow before (for example modern agricultural techniques).
4. Sometimes the nature of the path is made explicit (for example an agricultural path).
5. Sometimes the end point (goal) of the path is made explicit (for example, life or peace).
6. Sometimes the clearing of the path allows not humans but something else through (for example, Christianity).

5.5.2 The songs of Tuini Ngāwai

Both the words *ara* and *huarahi* are used metaphorically in Ngāwai’s songs, though *ara* appears only once. In this case the path is the path of life, with Ngāwai encouraging the Māori Battalion soldiers to be guided by God.

Mā ngā whakaaro ki runga rawa rā

E ārahi ki te ara e tika ai (‘E te Hokowhitu-a-Tū’: 16).

Thoughts focused on the Almighty above

Will guide us along the path that is right.

Ngāwai’s preferred word for path was *huarahi*. It appears twice with the definite article. In this example the path is associated with Christian spirituality.

Ka tutuki ngā wawata

Ki te rangimārie

Ko te huarahi

Kei te wairua auē

We must achieve our aspirations

In peace and goodwill

The way guided by the Holy spirit ('Te kotahitanga rā e': 61).

Conversely, in this song which laments some of the wayward traits of the younger generation, the path is equated with alcohol.

He pia he rama

Te huarahi e ('Nā kitea te tau e': 91).

Beer and liquor

Are the path.

These three examples show Ngāwai using the path metaphor to illustrate the Christian idea of two paths, a positive one leading to eternal life, and another leading to oblivion.

In the following example both a singular and plural determiner are used to refer to the path/s of Māoridom. It exhorts listeners to stick closely to the path implying that it's the right path but one that is easily lost.

Kia piri tahi ki te Huarahi Māoritanga ...

Ki te rapa tahi i ngā huarahi Māoritanga ('Haere haere mai': 82).

Adhere to the path of Māoritanga ...

Stick to the paths of Māoritanga.

This example is illustrative of Ngāwai's belief in the importance of retaining Māori custom. This was a great theme of Ngata's and centred on Māori cultural arts such as cultural performance and meeting house renovation. This positive emphasis was part of a deliberate strategy by Ngata to counter what he and others like Buck saw as negative features of Māori society such as alcoholism.

Ngāwai's Christian temperament is again seen in the following example which gives God as the guide on our life's journey.

Mā te mātauranga o te Atua e

E para e hura he huarahi e

God's understanding

will pave and open all avenues ('Kua eke ki te wā': 95).

There were no examples of *huarahi tika* or *huarahi pai* in Ngāwai's songs but, as can be seen by some of the previous examples, particularly in the expression of Ngāwai's Christianity, there is a strong implication that there is a 'right' path and that its way is narrow and temptations to stray powerful.

The following song refers to the ups and downs along the path. A star cluster is called on to provide guidance along the path.

Ko Matariki te whetū hei arataki e
Hei tutuki noa ki te mutunga ...
Te whakaponono tūmanako me te aroha e
Te huarahi ki te ora wairua e ...
Ahakoā ngā piki heke o te ao.
 Matariki will guide you
 From time to eternity ...
 The path to righteousness
 Is through faith, hope and charity ...
 Despite the ups and downs of the world ('Matariki': 57-58).

This song uses an extended path metaphor and in doing so makes explicit the goal of the path.

The word *whai* in its passive form appeared metaphorically four times. In one example soldiers were encouraged to pursue the highest honour.

Whāia rā te hōnora nui
Ki te mutunga rawa rā ('Māori Battalion': 23 & 25).
 Pursue the highest honour
 Until the very end.

In this example Ngāwai urges following Christ.

Whāia te mātauranga o te Matua e.
 Always seek the guidance of our LORD ('Maraku': 66).

In two examples it is the spirit which should be followed. In all these examples of *whai* the nature of this metaphor means that it is unclear whether the thing (honour, knowledge, or spirit) being followed is the path itself or the goal.

Whāia ko te tohu aroha ('Hēnare Ruru': 71).
 Pursue the spirit of love.

Whāia te tohu e ('Ngā tamariki rangatahi': 77).

Pursue the spirit.

Other words which evoke the path metaphor occur in a number of songs. The following two songs use almost identical wording to refer to following the footsteps of the ancestors.

Mā te Matua koutou e tiaki

Takahia atu rā, ***ngā haerenga*** o ngā hoa.

May God protect you whilst

Following the footsteps

Of those who have gone before you ('Te reo': 28).

Takahia, takahia mai rā ***ngā haerenga***

Ō koutou tini whanaunga e,

Return the same route your many relatives took ('Ngā mōrehu': 48).

The word *ārahi* occurs four times to refer to various forms of Christian guidance to avert evil and bring salvation.¹¹⁴

Kauparetia te kino, mā te whakapono e

Hei ārahi ki roto i te kino e ('Ngā hōia e': 31).

Ward off evil, faith can

Guide us through evil.

In one example, the guidance will be provided by the ancestors.

Ngā wharepa o ngā tīpuna,

Hei ārahi ki roto i te ao hou, auē,

The wharepa¹¹⁵ of our ancestors are also

A means of entry into the new world ('Ko taku waka': 90).

There is one example of the path metaphor being used to refer to the Māori language. In this song Māori language is not the path itself but a guide along the path.

He aha te painga e ngā mātua

Ki te kore rawa e tohu tohungia

Ki te reo Māori, hei arataki

Hei karauna Māoritanga

Ki te ao ('E ngā rangatahi': 92).

¹¹⁴ The other three examples are in *Te Iwi E*: 58, *Haere Mai Tātou Katoa*: 68 and *Auē te Mamae i Ahau*: 64.

¹¹⁵ There is no reference to this word in any dictionary. Most likely it is a combination of the words *whare* and *pā* (house and fortified settlement).

What's the use, parents
 If you don't preserve
 The Māori language, to guide
 And crown Māoritanga
 For the world.

In summary, Ngāwai uses the path metaphor to emphasise the two facets of her life which were very important to her: Christianity and Māori culture. The paths she describes are one taken by humans on their life journey; in eight of the songs the path is associated with Christianity while parents, ancestors and Māoritanga are associated with another five of the songs.

5.5.3 Summary

The two early 20th century sources examined here provide different aspects of use of the path metaphor during the period. In the Buck and Ngata correspondence the path metaphor nearly always refers to general life paths with a positive aspect being placed on intellectual advancement and education – two things both men were staunch advocates of. Their approach and experience of life seems to follow on from the engagement an earlier generation had with modernity in the late 19th century (see section 5.4.3). In the earlier time period the path metaphor revealed both curiosity and anxiety with regard to the Māori engagement with modernity. Buck and Ngata's experience shows a later generation's confidence in engaging with the new world. In their intellectual enthusiasm the old ways of the ancestors are often seen in a negative light.

Conversely Ngāwai's songs show us the concerns of the worldly wise rural-based Māori rather than an educated elite. Ngāwai's main use of the path metaphor echoes the expressions of the Bible, with God's ways showing us guidance in the changing world. Alongside this Ngāwai is also a staunch advocate of Māori culture and traditions as she sees this as providing positive guidance for a younger generation facing the cultural dislocation which was to become even more prominent in the post-war period. In her use of the path metaphor the role of elders and ancestors is a positive one, a sentiment which will be echoed and advanced even further in succeeding generations.

5.6 Late 20th century Māori sources

This section investigates the use of the path metaphor in a variety of post 1975 Māori sources. Section 5.6.1 contains excerpts from essays written by Māori on various aspects of Māori culture, identity and language. Section 5.6.2 looks at the use of the path metaphor in a corpus of broadcast Māori and section 5.6.3 is based on an examination of song lyrics.

5.6.1 Writing about Māori culture, identity and language

In the sources studied for this section the path metaphor tends to be used in two related ways:

1. To refer to general life journeys, or
2. To refer to education.

Both of these are often associated with Māori ancestors or Māori culture.

In these publications we also find the path metaphor used in greetings to those who have died. The following example shows that the word *ara* has become particularly associated with this use of the path metaphor.

Ki te hunga kua takahia atu i te ara numinumi i te ara tāpokopoko tē hoki mai ai, oti atu (Rei 1996: 54).

To those who have trod the concealed and undulating path from which there is no returning, forever.

This example more explicitly associates the ancestors with the path of the dead.

E rua marama atu ka mate a John, whai atu ana a ia i wēraka o wōna kaumātua i whakahuahuatia ake (Stirling 1996: 116).

Two months later John died and followed those of his aforementioned ancestors.

The rest of the examples in the selected texts refer to life journeys. The following example uses the path metaphor to describe 19th century Māori leaders' engagement with modernity. In this example there is one path with an implicit goal, modernity.

This was a **pathway** on which they longed to **tread** but could not achieve. Today it is possible to walk **that path** to the world of light that our ancestors dreamed of. It is up to us who **walk** on the breast of Papatūānuku to carry this cause through to its realisation (Mead 1979: 59).

The modernity envisaged in the above example is associated with Pākehā. The following example also implicitly links education with Pākehā middle class modes of existence. There is a multitude of paths with the goal being a comfortable lifestyle.

*He hunga mātauranga ... kua **takahi** kē i **ngā ara** e puta ai he oranga nui ki tēnā, ki tēnā o rātou* (Kāretu 2000: 85).

An educated cohort ... who have trodden the paths by which they have all found material sustenance.

This idea that there are many paths, perhaps one for each of us to follow in the world, is also present in this use of the path metaphor to describe the type of person best suited to teach children.

*[T]e momo tangata e tika ana hei **arataki** i ngā tamariki i roto i ō rātou ao* (Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1996: 10).

The sort of person who is right to lead children in their worlds.

The idea that we are each on our own unique path is explicitly described in the following excerpt by a young Māori woman.

I see myself **walking** down **my**¹¹⁶ **road**. I make my own choices and I control **my road**. **The road** is a combination of all that is me. ... On either side of **the road** are two worlds which heavily influence the direction **my road** takes. On my left is the Pākehā world, a world made up of values and standards brought to New Zealand by the early European settlers. ... On my right side is the Māori world, embracing all the values and traditions of my Tīpuna (Parata 1990: 74-75).

Also present in this example is the idea that the Māori world, particularly ancestors can play an important role in guiding one's journey through life.

Similarly, in the following example Māori culture is seen as something to help individuals on their life journey.

The more I learn about my Māoritanga, the less I see it as a clue to my Māoriness than as a means for realising my humanity. Tikanga Māori represents a **map** of the human condition. We disregard it at our peril. None of this makes life any bloody easier. But at least it gives some clues to help me **along the way** (Stephens 1998: 284).

In contrast, in the following example *Māoritanga* (Māori culture) is seen not as a guidance along life's journey but as the journey's goal. This quote illustrates the focus on the rediscovery of Māori culture during the renaissance period.

¹¹⁶ Bolding is mine, the italics are the author's.

The **route** to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach. That is more likely to **lead** to a goal (Marsden 1975: 191).

Māori Marsden, himself a native speaker, recognises that a younger generation without the language or culture have a real need to reconnect with the Māori world. By eschewing a logical approach and advocating a faith-based involvement, Marsden keys in to one of the important facets of the Māori renaissance, which Sid Mead recognised when he noted that ‘Māoritanga itself has become a sort of religion’ (Mead 1979: 63). Along with a more spiritual engagement, Marsden’s quote also recognises that for many of the younger generation Māori culture is a goal to be worked for, not a world in which they already exist.

A similar sentiment comes from an interview with veteran land protester Eva Rickard:

My life seems to be following a clear **path** that takes me deeper and deeper into the heart of Māoritanga (Awatere-Huata 1993: 183).

This idea is also reflected by one such person of the younger generation, Jenny Te Paa. In reflecting on the title of the book her essay appeared in (*Growing up Māori*), Jenny Te Paa sees ‘being Māori’ as a lifetime goal.

I believe myself to be still very much in the process of growing up Māori, **I have not yet**, by any means, **arrived** (Te Paa 1998: 211).

A number of commentators at the time asked where Māoridom was headed.

E, aru ana tātau ki hea? (Rangihau 1993: 104).

Hey, where are we going?

This question was also repeated multilingually by Manu Bennett at the conclusion to an article he wrote in response to the *Te Māori* art exhibition which had achieved tremendous acclaim in the United States.

E ahu ana kotou ki hea?

Quo Vadis?

Whither goes thou? (Bennett 1993: 196).

The ‘searching for past and a reclamation of that past’ (R. Pōtiki 1993: 318) was a major preoccupation of the time, with Roma Pōtiki saying that in her writing that she aimed ‘to describe a journey from anxiety to confidence’ (R. Pōtiki 1993: 318).

It is quite common to describe the Māori renaissance in the 1970s and 1980s as a ‘movement.’ This word implies the path metaphor in that it encapsulates the idea of a group of people walking together on a path. Sid Mead concludes his article entitled ‘He Ara ki te Aomārama: A Pathway to the Future’ with the following chant which calls people to join the path of the renaissance.

Tuia te kawē,
Tairanga te kawē
Ko te kawē o te haere!
 Make the shoulder pack,
 Take up the shoulder pack,
 And let us go! (Mead 1979: 67).

But Māoritanga is not wholly envisaged as focussing only on the present. Māoritanga links the present generation with the one or two generations, since dead, who are guides and inspiration to access the Māori world. In this example Pere wishes to emulate her parents and grandparents who

could sandal the **feet** of their thoughts and **walk** the ancient **paths** of wisdom
 (Pere 1990: 2).

There are a number of examples where the path metaphor refers to higher education. Sometimes the education being pursued is associated with the Pākehā, as in the following example which gives thanks to an elder who urged the writer to engage with education.

*Me tana wero kia haere ki te **whai** atu i ngā tohu mātauranga a te Pākehā*
 (Putaka 1996: 95).
 And his challenge for me to go and pursue the academic qualifications of the
 Pākehā.

The following quote refers to Māori leaders Ngata, Carroll, Buck and Pōmare and their championing of western education.

*I **whai** i te mātauranga o tauīwi hei oranga mō te iwi nui.*
 They pursued the knowledge of the Pākehā in order to benefit the wider
 community (Mete-Kingi 1979: 7).

It is also possible to talk about the difficulties involved in accessing higher education.

*Ahakoā **ngā piki me ngā heke** i te mahi* (Putaka 1996: 95).
 Despite the ups and downs of the work.

The importance of education is evident in the following proverb which has become quite prominent in the last twenty years and is the one most often used to urge Māori on in their educational aspirations.

Whāia te iti kahurangi, ki te tuohu koe, me he maunga teitei (Kupenga et al. 1990: 11).

Follow your treasured aspirations and if you must bow your head let it be to a lofty mountain.

Also, when speaking Māori it is quite common to refer to accessing various levels of tertiary education as *whai i te tohu* (Putaka 1996: 94), that is, ‘pursuing a qualification.’

The rest of the examples in this section all refer to the Māori language. The quotes fall into two categories: those which identify Māori language as a path, and those which refer to Māori language, or Māori language revitalisation as the goal of the journey. The following examples link Māori language with life’s pathway by saying that language can be pursued like a path.

Kei mua i te aroaro o te tangata ngā momo huarahi katoa e taea ai e ia te reo Māori te whai, te ako anō hoki (Kāretu 2000: 85).

In front of everyone are all sorts of paths by which the Māori language can be pursued and learnt.

While encouraging all who can to speak the Māori language, Kāretu, in this quote, states that the goal of following a language path is individual fluency.

E hīkoi ana i te ara o te whai kia matatau (Kāretu 2000: 88).

Marching along the path to pursue fluency.

There are a number of examples which mention a different goal: the survival of the Māori language as the goal. The following three examples are representative.

I te mutunga o te hui, i whakakotahi mai te hui ki te kōrerorero i ngā huarahi e kaha ake ai, e ora ake ai te reo Māori, ā, ka pēhea anō hoki te whai i aua huarahi e tutuki pai ai ēnei whāinga (Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori 1996: 8).

At the conclusion of the conference those attending convened to discuss the paths by which the Māori language could be strengthened and made healthy, and, how to follow those paths by which these aims could be achieved.

Kātahi anō ka taea te whai whakaaro ki ngā huarahi e ora tonu ai te reo Māori i te kāinga (Tobin 1996: 85).

At last we can think about the paths by which the Māori language can continue to live in the home.

*Ehara kē hoki i te reoruatanga noa iho nei tā tātou kei te **whai** engari ia ko te ora tonu o tō tātou reo manotau atu, manotau atu* (Kāretu 2000: 85).

It's not as if we are just pursuing bilingualism, but the survival of our language through the next millennium.

Toni Waho is well aware of the difficulties in attaining this goal.

*Kia taea te pēnei me whakauru te hiahia me te whakapono ki roto i ngā ngākau o ngāi tātau, te iwi Māori. Ko tērā te wāhi uaua. Me pēhea tātau e whakauru ai te hiahia me te whakapono ki roto i tēnā Māori, ki tēnā Māori ina kei reira ngā **taeapa**, kei reira ngā **ārai**, kei reira ngā taupēhitanga hei **aukati** i te hiahia me te whakapono? Ki a au, ko te taea* (Waho 1996: 83).

To achieve this a desire and belief needs to enter the hearts of all of us, the Māori people. And that's the hard thing. How do we instil the desire and belief in each and every Māori person when there are fences and barriers and tribulations which block this desire and belief? But I do think it can be achieved.

To summarise, the writings about Māori identity, culture and language examined here demonstrate a number of uses of the path metaphor.

1. The word *ara* is particularly associated with traditional eulogistic referents to the path of the dead.
2. The word *huarahi* is associated with general paths of life. These paths are often associated with Māori culture or ancestors and/or education.
3. The Māori language is also associated with paths which often specify either the wider goal of language revitalisation or the individual goal of fluency.

5.6.2 Songs of Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, Southside of Bombay and Dean Hapeta

In both the lyrics from the songs performed by the University of Waikato kapa haka group and the songs written by Dean Hapeta we find the path metaphor used to describe the searching of the dispossessed urban generation and the linking of Māori culture and ancestors with positive paths for young people to follow.

The informants for this study talked about ‘going astray’ (*kotiti* – see section 5.1.1), and this idea, if not the actual word is mentioned in two songs. The first is from a song called ‘Ka noho au i konei’ written by Ngoi Pewhairangi, a niece of composer Tuini Ngāwai (see section 5.5.2).

Ngā whakawai e hau nei i ngā tamariki

*Kua kore noa he ture hei **arataki***

Temptations lead our young people astray,

There being no rules for them to follow (Kāretu 1987: 101-102).

Pewhairangi represents an older generation who are concerned for a younger, urbanised generation. However, similar sentiments are also apparent from the younger generation themselves, as shown in the following quote from one of Dean Hapeta’s more recent songs.

Pono ake te pō i te awatea

*Iti iho ngā mea e taea te **whakariro** (‘Te Tītoko’).*

The night is much more true than day

There’s less around to **lead astray** (‘Being – the authority’)¹¹⁷ (Te Kupu 2000).

As a response to the dislocation of urbanisation, many of Kāretu’s songs talk about a searching by young people for models of behaviour. Kāretu’s lyrics in the song ‘Paoa e, Marutūahu e’, composed in 1979, call attention to the needs of the younger Māori generation.

Engari tiro mai rā

*Ki te hunga e **rapu** nei*

*E **kimi** nei i te oranga*

Auē! mō taku mana Māori e

But look in this direction

At this group who are searching

For some way to keep alive

My pride in things Māori (Kāretu 1987: 69-70).

In the chant ‘E noho ana rā i tōku taumata’ the young performers call for support from the older generation.

*Ki te **kimi huarahi** hei whakatutuki*

I tā koutou whakamāherehere e

Trying to find avenues

Whereby your advice can be realised (Kāretu 1987: 45-46).

¹¹⁷ Both Māori and English song titles are given.

In Ngāwai's lyrics it was God who provided the necessary guidance. This idea is still present in the song *Whakarongo mai te Atua*¹¹⁸ composed by Erana Coulter.

Tō wairua hei ārahi ...

Māhau anō e arataki.

Let your spirit lead me ...

For it is you who lead us (Kāretu 1987: 139-140).

The importance of spiritual guidance is also mentioned in Dean Hapeta's rap lyrics.

Arahina e te puna ariki ('Te hā').

Guided by the source of an almighty ('Sanctity – the essence') (Te Kupu 2000).

Frequently the searching being undertaken by the younger generation is linked with education as shown in this haka entitled 'Rā te pūao.'

E kimi ana i te mātauranga

i roto i te rohe o Te Ata-i-rangi-kaahu e.

But seeking for knowledge

In the territory of Te Ata-i-rangi-kaahu¹¹⁹ (Kāretu 1987: 13-14).

The University of Waikato is located in Hamilton, near the centre of the King Country, the tribal area of the Māori sovereign. While the university can be seen as a Pākehā institution, the words of this haka set the educational aspirations of the university within a Māori context.

The phrase *kimi ... i te mātauranga* has become somewhat formulaic and is also seen in the chant 'E Noho ana rā i tōku Taumata.'

Engari rā au kei te kimi i te mātauranga o te ao Māori!

At least I am seeking the wisdom, and knowledge, of things Māori (Kāretu 1987: 45-46).

In earlier sections the word *mātauranga* referred to the Pākehā education system, but in these songs the knowledge being desired is most definitely Māori. In the song 'Auē! Taukuri!' the young people especially want to access Māori ways of knowing which are associated with the past.

Ka kimi kau ake i ngā kākā waha nui,

I ngā puna mātauranga o te ao tawhito

¹¹⁸ The title translates as 'Listen, O Lord.'

¹¹⁹ Dame Te Ata-i-rangi-kaahu (1931-2006) was the seventh Māori sovereign.

And seek out the eloquent speakers,
These with the knowledge of times gone (Kāretu 1987: 77-78).

A more recent song, 'Kia mau'¹²⁰ by Southside of Bombay and Mina Ripia (1995), also exhorts listeners to value a particular aspect of Māori education.

***Rapua** te mātauranga auē ...*

***Whāia** rā te huarahi tika ...*

*Kia **eke** ki ngā taumata*¹²¹

Search for knowledge ...

Follow the right path ...

To make it to the summits.

The title of the song and its theme makes it quite clear that the knowledge being referred to here is the Māori language.

Even in songs where a more Pākehā style education system is mentioned, the journey along this road is eschewed for a more traditional Māori focus. The following lyrics are from a song entitled 'E rere pōwhiri' which was composed by by Kōhine Ponika of Tūhoe.

*Haere noa ana i **te ara** whānui*

***Whai** ana i te Pākehā ...*

Takahia! Takahia!

Takahia! Takahia! e tama mā,

***Whai** ake, e hine mā ...*

Me pēnei rā (e mai ai)

Ngā wawata (e tau ai)

Me huri rā (te kanohi)

Me hoki mai ki te wā kāinga e

Auē!

Kei konei rā (te mauri)

We tread the pathway of life

Following the way of the Pākehā ...

Start moving!

Start moving, young men

Tread in their footsteps, you, the young women, ...

¹²⁰ The title translates as 'Retain it' (i.e. the Māori language).

¹²¹ Dawson, Kukupa, Moore, Young, Turakina Māori Girls' College Choir, Southside of Bombay et. al 1999.

This then is the way
 To realise my dreams
 By turning my gaze to my home territory
 For this is my point of origin (Kāretu 1987: 95-6).

A more recent lyric by Dean Hapeta is more condemning of the Pākehā way of life.

*He aha i **tapatu**¹²² ai i te puku o te māminga* ('Te hā').
 Walking in the belly of deceit why stumble ('Sanctity – the essence') (Te Kupu 2000).

Instead, Hapeta advocates a politicised alternative.

Ngā ara whiriwhiria mō te ātetenga
Te puāwaitanga o ngā putiputi tīari ('Te kairaupatu').
 Chosen paths of resistance
 Blooming flowers of existence ('Vision – the conqueror') (Te Kupu 2000).

The song 'Te kuika Māori' composed in 1989 uses the path metaphor to wonder about the future of the Māori people. The song does not use a Māori word for *path* but evokes the metaphor through the use of the word *ahu* (to move in a certain direction).

Toko ake te pakirehua i te ngākau
*'Te ao Māori, e **ahu** ana tātou ki hea? ...*
Mā tātou anō tātou e whakahaere.
 The soul is prompted to ask,
 'The Māori world, where are we headed?' ...
 Let us be masters of our own destiny (Kāretu 1991: 170).

In this lyric Hapeta uses both *ara* and *huarahi* to tell us that his path is a Māori one.

*Ko tōku whakapapa ko **taku huarahi***
E kore aua e tapatu
Kitea taku matakite
*Kua whiria **taku ara*** ('Te Whakameto').
 My whakapapa is my street
 I shall not alter
 My vision is here
 My path is chosen ('Forward – the determinant') (Te Kupu 2000).

¹²² *Tapatu* = to stumble.

The lyrics in these songs have been composed to reflect the beliefs, feelings and aspirations of young people in the latter part of the 20th century. They use the path metaphor to emphasise the positive role that Māori language, Māori customs and Māori ancestors have in providing meaning in today's world.

5.6.3 The Māori Broadcast Corpus

An analysis of the words *ara* and *huarahi* in the Māori Broadcast Corpus (MBC) revealed that the word *huarahi* occurred 611 times in the corpus, whereas the noun *ara* only occurred 85 times.¹²³ While the word *huarahi* was more frequent than *ara*, as found in previous texts, *ara* was more frequently associated with the path travelled by the dead, in other words, with the path travelled by the ancestors. The following example is a greeting by the presenter at the beginning of a *Waka Huia* television programme to the recently deceased.

Haere rā koutou, haere. Haere i runga i te ara i takahia e ngā tūpuna (mbc109).

Farewell to you all, go. Go along the path trodden by the ancestors.

This quote also gives an example of the formulaic phrase *kili runga i* + [det.] + *ara/huarahi*, (on + [det.] + path) which featured in the informants' use of the path metaphor. This formula is employed in several of the following quotes.

The association of the word *ara* with other paths that the ancestors have taken is reflected in the following examples. In the first, the speaker explains why he was keen to have his body adorned with traditional Māori body art.

E haere ana ahau i runga i te, te ara wairua o ngā tūpuna ... te tino, tino hiahia i roto i te ngākau o ahau, ā, ki te mahi i tēnei mahi o ngā tūpuna, te mahi tā moko (mbc101).

I am going along the, the spiritual path of the ancestors ... I had a real, real desire inside me to do this thing of the ancestors, to have a *moko*.

The idea of linking present action with actions of the ancestors is also demonstrated in the following example from a television advertisement promoting Māori Language Year. The image of Inia Te Wiata, a famous Māori opera singer and carver who died in 1971, was accompanied by the following dialogue:

He ringa whaowhao i hao ai te ara mō rātou e whai atu (mbc264).

A chiseller who carved the path for them to follow.

¹²³ A number of the occurrences of *huarahi* may be literal rather than metaphorical. Instances of *ara* as a verb or name have been excluded.

These two examples show how the idea of the path of the ancestors which leads to death has been expanded so that the pathways of ancestors can be used as inspiration for people in life rather than death.

Conversely, the word *huarahi* is often associated in the corpus with general avenues of life. In the following example a reporter is talking about the direction of a new political party.

*Ko te pātai kē, he aha **te huarahi** me ngā kaupapa kei te **whāia** e te Rōpū Aotearoa?* (mbc071).

Instead, the question is, what is the path and the manifesto that are being followed by the Aotearoa party?

From paths followed by political entities, the most common use of this metaphor is to refer to paths of life that individuals take. The following example discusses the benefits of working in the military.

*He **huarahi** pai tēnei hei whakahoki mai i a rātou **ki runga i te ara** e whai hua ana, kia kore ai e **takahi i runga i te ara** hua kore* (mbc249).

This is a good path to get them back on the path which has benefits, so they don't tread along the path which has no benefits.

Often these paths are related directly to the Māori world. In this excerpt the speaker refers to the philosophy behind the ART federation of three tribal groups.

*Me pēnei **te huarahi** mā tātou. Āe, mā tātou, ā, o ēnei iwi e toru e kī, koinā **te huarahi tika** hei **whai** mā tātou. Koinā **te ara tika** hei whai mā tātou* (mbc228).

The path for us should be like this. Yes, all of us of these three tribes are saying that that is the right path for us to follow. That's the right path for us to follow.

The following quote also uses both words for path and strongly links these paths with the elders. The speaker is talking about a Māori martial arts workshop.

*Āe. Kia mōhio ai ngā tauira i haere mai i raro i te marumaru a [Mea], kia, kia tika tā rātou, ā, **huarahi** i roto i te ao Māori, nā, i te, i te, i **te ara** e pā ana ki a rātou, ā, ngā kuia, ngā koroua ki te ao Māori* (mbc101).

Yes. So that the students will understand that they are going along under the auspices of [Name], so that their path in the Māori world will be right, the path relating to them, the male and female elders in the Māori world.

There are many examples in the corpus where the journey metaphor is associated with education. The following example talks about the difficulties in accessing education in the past.

Kua mārō rā te haere o ō māua mātua i runga i te huarahi ki te whai i tēnei mea, i te mātauranga (mbc106).

It was a hard journey for our parents on the path to pursue this thing, education.

Educational aspirations have historically been associated with Pākehā educational institutions but we can see a change developing throughout this time period. During the renaissance, the wisdom of Māori elders was exalted and their knowledge given equal or higher status to the Pākehā education system in a reversal of a previous paradigm where Māori culture and beliefs were seen as inimical to progress in the modern world. From the situation where Māori elders, Māori culture and Māori language had no place in the education system, through *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa Māori* New Zealand has moved to a situation where aspects of Māori culture are at the centre of a Māori education system.

Accordingly there are many examples in these sources of the use of the path metaphor to talk about education. The following quote ties education together with the Māori language.

Ā, ko tāku e kī nei, anei tētahi huarahi kia taea e te Māori te kī, āe, ... kei te pīrangī au ki te whai i te huarahi o te ao Māori, o te ao Māori me ōna kōrero katoa, nā, nā tātou anō rā i hanga (mbc099).

So, I am saying, here is a path by which Māori can say, yes, ... I want to follow the path of the Māori world, of the Māori world and all its stories, and, we ourselves built it.

In this example the speaker rejoices in the development of a Māori language education system which extends from birth to old age.

I reira i te kōhanga reo, Te Ātarangi, te kura kaupapa Māori me ngā wānanga, whare wānanga Māori, kotahi anake te titiro ko te mokopuna me te reo, me tōna whāinga me tōna ara whai mai i tōna whānautanga (mbc086).

The *kōhanga reo* is there, Te Ātarangi, *kura kaupapa Māori* and the *wānanga*, Māori universities, with just one objective – the child and the language, alongside the child's aim and path following along from birth.

There are two kinds of use of the path metaphor with reference to the Māori language. In the following examples the Māori language is not the path itself, instead the path is something to benefit the language.

*Ka hoatu e tēnei poari hei **whai** atu rā i **ngā huarahi** e whakanui ai te reo Māori*
(mbc007).

[This funding] is given by this Board to pursue the paths by which the Māori language can be celebrated.

Because the mode of speech in broadcast situations is often more rhetorical and people are often talking about wider issues rather than personal involvement, it is not surprising that most of the examples of the path metaphor being used to refer to the language are of this form. However there are a few examples where language is explicitly referred to as a path. The following quote combines both ideas, of language being a path and also paths to strengthen the language.

*Engari, me kaha anō hoki te **whai i te reo Māori**, te take, koinei ētahi o **ngā huarahi** hei whakapakari i tō tātou reo* (mbc250).

But, we should be strong in pursuing the Māori language, the reason being that these are some of the paths to strengthen our language.

This example uses the formulaic phrase *whai* (+subj.) + *i* + [det.] + *reo* (following + [det.] language) which was a feature of the informants' use of the path metaphor. The following three quotes also use this formulaic phrase.

'Pursuing the language' is seen as beneficial for the individual.

*Ia wiki kei te huihui tahi rā ngā kaimahi o ngā kooti ki Tāmaki-makau-rau ki te **whai ake i te reo** hei atawhai i a rātou, hei āwhina i a rātou* (mbc008).

Every week the Auckland court workers meet together to pursue the language to foster and help them.

In this excerpt the topic is the important role that immersion units in schools have in language revitalisation.

*Tino kaha rawa atu rātou ki te **whai** haere tonu **i te reo*** (mbc177).

They are particularly stalwart in going along and pursuing the language.

This speaker sees learning the Māori language as providing an entry into Māori customs and traditions.

*Anā, kei te hokihoki tātou ki te **whai i tō tātou reo** rangatira, ā, me ngā tikanga hoki kei te taha* (mbc223).

And so, we are returning to pursue our chiefly language and the customs that go alongside it.

This native speaker of Māori shows us the link between the language and the elders.

*Āe, koirā tā rātou e **whai** rā, ā, ko te reo tūturu o ngā mātua, o ngā tūpuna*
(mbc255).

Yes, that's what they are pursuing, the enduring language of the parents and elders.

These sentiments are echoed in this quote by someone still learning the language.

*Ki taku whakaaro, ā, te reo Māori te, **te huarahi**, **te huanui**, ā, ki te mea, ki ngā*
mea katoa o te ao Māori (mbc008).

In my opinion, the Māori language is the, the path, the road to the thing, all the things of the Māori world.

Many of those recorded in the corpus are native speakers of the language, or other highly fluent speakers. The idea of following or pursuing the language is one which is more applicable to language learners, as shown in this example referring to the role native speakers have with regard to second language learners.

Ko mātou ko ngā mea i tipu mai i runga i te marae, āwhinatia ana mea kore kau.
*Ko rātou ngā mea hei **whai i te reo*** (mbc120).

Those of us who grew up on the marae help the ones who have don't have it [the language]. There are the ones pursuing the language.

These examples of the use of the path metaphor from the MBC reflect a number of similarities to the informants' use of the path metaphor. The word *ara* is restricted to traditional reference to paths of the dead in phrases which have probably become somewhat formulaic for individual speakers. The word *huarahi* is used for talking about various ways of life but with particular emphasis on education, especially Māori-based forms of education.

The Māori language is also associated with paths, with the benefits for the language itself or individuals involved with its revitalisation being mentioned. The role of native speakers in language revitalisation is also mentioned. The quotes from the corpus show the use of three formulaic phrases which the informants also used in their expression of the path metaphor.

5.6.4 Summary

These examples from a number of various late 20th century sources show a consistent pattern with regard to the use of the path metaphor.

1. The word *ara* is particularly associated with eulogistic phrases.
2. The word *huarahi* is typically used to refer to one's life 'journey.' This path is often associated with Māori language, Māori culture or Māori ancestors.
3. Life paths are also associated with education, particularly higher education.
4. Formulaic phrases are often used to realise the path metaphor.

5.7 Discussion

The journey metaphor has a rich history and is known and used in most world cultures. There are numerous works of literature from ancient to modern times which use the this metaphor as their structural base. Homer's *Odyssey* (800-600 BC) tells of Odysseus's long travels and many adventures. Dante's *The divine comedy* (written between 1308 and 1321) describes Dante's journey through hell, purgatory and paradise.

In the middle of the journey of our life I came to myself within a dark wood
where the straight way was lost (Sinclair 1948: 23).

Bunyan's *The pilgrim's progress* (first published in 1678) is a biblical-based allegory describing a journey from sin to salvation. Frost's poem *The road not taken* ponders over life choices.

Two roads diverged in a wood, and I --
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference (Frost 1920).

Much contemporary interest in the use of the journey metaphor has developed from Joseph Campbell's book *The hero with a thousand faces* (1949) which outlines his theory of the journey of the archetypal hero found in mythologies and religions throughout the world. His thesis influenced many, including filmmakers such as George Lucas who used Campbell's ideas in his *Star wars* movie series.

Of course the idea of pilgrimages which combine a physical and spiritual journey has a long history, especially in Judeo-Christian and Islamic belief. Therefore it is not surprising that the journey metaphor is common throughout the western world today. On its website, the Metaphor Observatory voted President Bush's use of the phrase 'road map to peace', a version of the path metaphor, as one of its top ten metaphors of 2005.¹²⁴

Other scholarly work has noted the predominance of the journey metaphor. For example El-Sawad (2005) noted that eighteen of twenty informants used the journey metaphor both in positive and negative ways to talk about their career and that this metaphor was most the common metaphor employed. Similarly Cortazzi and Jin noted that the journey metaphor was the one most frequently employed by teacher trainees to talk about how they envisioned teaching (1999: 163).

¹²⁴ <http://www.metaphorobservatory.blogspot.com/>.

In New Zealand we are surrounded by numerous examples of the use of the journey metaphor in contemporary Māori and New Zealand society. For example, a Linda Tuhiwai Smith article uses ‘the metaphor of a journey, and a narrative style associated with the telling of journey stories, to discuss the development of my current research’ (L. T. Smith 1994: 162). She ties this metaphor in with Māori tradition remembering learning ‘the story of the journey made by our ancestors back to Hawaiki.’

Waerete Norman (1993: 173) associates the journey metaphor with the Waitangi Tribunal Claim process¹²⁵ by stating that ‘in June 1985 the Muriwhenua claim began its journey. At the time of writing, that journey is not yet over.’

An article by Susan Ritchie in *Nursing New Zealand* entitled *A bicultural journey* outlines the curriculum in an advanced diploma in child and family health nursing by saying that ‘this journey towards biculturalism in the diploma is only beginning. ... She concludes by describing the programme as achieving ‘small steps towards a bicultural curriculum in nursing practice’ (Ritchie 1993: 22-23).

These are but some examples of the use of the path metaphor in New Zealand that manifest the idea that LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The metaphor is in such common use that it can be heard or read on a daily basis through news media and in conversation. For the most part it seems that the majority of people are unaware of how pervasive this metaphor is in our society. However, some salience of the metaphor appeared in 2006 when two prominent New Zealand commentators noticed and commented on its ubiquity.

On 1 July 2006 in her weekly Saturday programme on National Radio, Kim Hill reacted to the use of the journey metaphor by her guest, actor Fiona Samuel. It appears that Hill had become sensitised to the metaphor through watching the television series *Dancing with the stars*. One competitor, Lorraine Downes, who went on to win the programme, used the metaphor frequently to talk about her own progress throughout the series. The following is a transcript of Hill’s interchange with Samuel who is talking about a stage production she was involved with.

Fiona: When I was thinking about the sorts of things I wanted this play to be about, which was really what it’s like to be in the middle of your journey through life, assuming that you’re going to get 80 years or so.

¹²⁵ In 1975 the New Zealand government set up an independent tribunal, the Waitangi Tribunal, to hear claims from Māori tribes about government activities which had breached tribal rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. The Tribunal makes non-binding recommendations to the Crown. See www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz.

Kim: Why is everything a journey at the moment?

Fiona: Is that a buzzword is it?

Kim: Apparently.

Fiona: I'll never say it again.

Kim: People drew, people drew attention to it after the final episode of *Dancing with stars*.

Fiona: Oh my god! I remember, I noticed it too.

Kim: What, really?

Fiona: Murray and I turned to each other and said we have to ...

Kim: Journey, never.

Fiona: Never again will it cross my lips.

Kim: I don't, unless you're travelling from Taupō to Auckland, you know, ...

Fiona: Exactly.

Kim: We'll eradicate it from our language.

The metaphor also came to the attention of poet Bill Manhire who posted the following blog on his website on the 19th of September 2006.¹²⁶

There used to be a World War II poster which said:

IS YOUR JOURNEY REALLY NECESSARY?

It would be good to slap a few of these up around New Zealand, where half the country seems to be on a journey. The journey must be one of the most ubiquitous and banal metaphors of recent times. The All Black team is at last on its journey. Meanwhile a new Ponsonby café is on an exciting culinary journey. I expect New Zealand Book Month is on a journey, too.

Turning to the use of the path metaphor with the Māori language, an internet search reveals a number of organisations, many of them government funded community health programmes, which use the phrase *huarahi tika* or *huarahi pai* in their name.

The pervasiveness of the path metaphor in the Māori language is reflected in the fact that the image of a person following a path features on the covers of the five books which comprise the second edition of the foremost Māori language textbook series *Te whanake* (Moorfield 2001a & b, 2003, 2004, 2005) (Figure 5.4).

¹²⁶ http://nzbookmonth.co.nz/blogs/bill_manhire/default.aspx.



Figure 5.4. Cover images from the four books which comprise the second edition of the Te whanake series of Māori Language textbooks and the accompanying dictionary.

The image on the cover of the first book, *Te kākano*,¹²⁷ shows a woman setting out on a journey. There is a signpost labelled *Te tīmatanga* (The Beginning) to show her the way. On the second book, *Te pihinga*, she is further along the path and the signpost reads *Te kupu* (The Word). On the cover of the third book, *Te māhuri*, she has nearly reached the shore and the signpost reads *Te kōrero* (Speaking). On the final book, *Te kōhure*, she is on the shore and the signpost says *Te reo* (The Language). That is, the overall message is that learning the Māori language is like a journey from the basic stages of acquiring words through to a level of fluency. The cover on the companion book to the series, a dictionary entitled *Te aka*, continues the path metaphor. The traveller and signpost are absent in the picture, instead the path the woman has travelled is now revealed as consisting of phrases in the Māori language.¹²⁸ In other words Māori language is a path, the visual representation of which evokes the formulaic phrase *whai i te reo* (following the language) used by the informants.

This chapter demonstrates that the antecedents to contemporary Māori use of the path metaphor (a variant of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor) draw on traditional Māori and biblical precedents. Traditional Māori models in *oriori*, *waiata tangi* and proverbs provide a model for linking life paths with ancestors.

The biblical use of the path metaphor has had a significant influence on current use of the path metaphor. This has primarily been by means of the overarching idea of the biblical path, which describes people following a well defined path with guidance from God to achieve the goal of eternal life. Describing this version of the path metaphor as SPIRITUAL ACTIVITY IS TRAVELLING ALONG A PATH TOWARDS A GOAL we can see that this has similarities with the informants' use of the path metaphor. Their descriptions outline a progression through three stages: being 'lost' 'getting on the path' and 'following the language.' This three stage process parallels the description in the biblical tract entitled *The two roads* which uses biblical verse to outline a similar three step process to become a follower of Christ.

There are spiritual links with the use of the path metaphor by the informants as revealed in the following quote.

Nā tēnā au ka whakaaro, oh anā, koia nei kē te huarahi māku. Nō reira, nā tēnā, nā te taha wairua ahau ka hoki mai ki taku taha Māori (Sharon).

Because of that I decided, oh, well, this is the path for me. So, it was because of that, because of the spiritual side that I returned to my Māori side.

¹²⁷ The covers for the first edition were based on the growth image implicit in the name of the series and the title of each book. This metaphor is discussed in chapter 8.

¹²⁸ These words are well-known phrases which exalt the Māori language.

The zealotness of many second language learners of Māori who seem to be following an ‘ideology’ can be explained by seeing that their experience of learning the Māori language often parallels the spiritual experience outlined in the Bible. The differences are, that instead of God, it is Māori elders and ancestors who provide direction. Instead of eternal life the goal focuses on internal life, in this case fluency in the language and engagement with Māori society. The informants’ use of the path metaphor shows an emphasis on the process of learning Māori and being Māori, an evolving process which will transform them in a spiritual way.

The positive role of Māori elders and ancestors reverses the impact of 19th century biblically-influenced thought which was premised on the idea that Māori customary life could not provide spiritual guidance in the modern world. The western indigenous renaissance movement, of which Māori are a part, has reversed this premise.

This sort of rhetoric is reflected in other expressions of cultural loss. The following is an example from the online Native America newsletter appropriately entitled *Canku ota* (Many paths).¹²⁹ An article about medicine man Fernie Marty (Issue 44, 2001) is entitled ‘The Long Journey back to the Heart.’ Marty is quoted as saying ‘I made a commitment to myself to walk this way of life’, and in talking about young people he says ‘they are lost.’ Andy Blackwater is quoted as saying ‘This is to lay our a path for our spiritual future so we can all go on the same path, assisting each other and caring for each other.’

Another feature of modern expressions of the journey metaphor is to place more emphasis on the path itself rather than the goal, thus the well-known phrase ‘life is a journey, not a destination.’ Life becomes a process by which we strive to better ourselves. One of the manifestations of this is in the importance placed on lifelong education, so that pre-school is now called an ‘early childhood education centre’ and we now have the University of the Third Age (U3A) phenomenon involving retired people. Piper and Kenner describe journey metaphor as ‘the most powerful and elaborated metaphor of learning’ (2000: 162) in an 850,000 word corpus of British and EU literature on lifetime learning.

Both the informants and the MBC speakers provided numerous examples of the path metaphor being used with regard to education. A cornerstone of the Māori language revitalisation movement has been the development of a preschool, primary, secondary and tertiary Māori education infrastructure in New Zealand. The worldview spearheaded by those involved with these Māori education options is encapsulated in the phrase ‘**by** Māori, **for** Māori and **in** Māori.’

¹²⁹ <http://www.turtletrack.org/>.

The association of the path metaphor with education indicates that newly-fluent speakers of Māori see their commitment to the Māori language as a long term one.

*Ko te mātauranga, te mātauranga Māori, te ao katoa mai i te wā i whānau mai
koe tae atu ki te wā i mate* (Bub).

It's education, it's Māori knowledge, the whole world from the time you are born
till the time you die.

The path version of the journey metaphor is very important for second language speakers of Māori. It has both traditional Māori and biblical antecedents and is manifested in a number of words and formulaic phrases the importance of which is contained in the connotations associated with the path metric. That is, the meaning behind the use of these words and phrases is more than the sum of the individual words themselves. When applied to the Māori language we have seen how the path metaphor evokes a closeness with Māori elders and ancestors, a commitment to a long-term goal and a dedication to a Māori worldview.

Chapter 6: *Eke ki runga i te waka* – language as a canoe

This chapter analyses the informants' use of the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS A CANOE (section 6.1) and follows this with an historical examination of the use of the source domain 'canoes' in a range of selected song and written sources from various time periods: early 19th century Māori sources (section 6.2), the Māori Bible (section 6.3), late 19th century Māori political writing (section 6.4), early 20th century Māori sources (section 6.5) and late 20th century Māori sources (section 6.6). The discussion in section 6.7 contextualises the findings in a wider historical and language revitalisation context.

6.1 Participants' use of the canoe metaphor

The second version of the LANGUAGE IS A JOURNEY metaphor used by the informants was of the form LANGUAGE IS A CANOE. This metaphor was used by nine of the thirty-two informants, half the number of those who used the path metaphor.

Canoes have had an important role in Māori society, they were the means by which Māori came to New Zealand many centuries ago and they also played an important role in transportation and fishing into the first half of the 19th century. With the importance of water transport in an island country such as New Zealand it is not surprising that the informants use canoe imagery.

With the LANGUAGE IS A CANOE metaphor the Māori language is referred to as a canoe, *waka*. Informants speak of being lost, *ngaro*, getting onto the canoe, *eke ki runga i te waka*, and paddling, *hoe*. The canoe can be under the direction of a *kaihautū*, and moving in a forward direction, *ahu whakamua*. This metaphor, unlike the others under study, was only used when the informants were speaking Māori and not when they were speaking English.

6.1.1 Language is a canoe

The Māori word *waka* refers to a *canoe*, but it also has a number of associated meanings centred on the basic idea of a receptacle, including the connotations expressed by the wider meanings of the English word *vessel* (see H. W. Williams 1971: 478).

Historically the word *waka* can refer not only to physical objects but can also be used metaphorically, most notably to refer to a tribal group. While the word *iwi* is the usual word for a tribe, reference to tribes can also be made by using the word *waka* to refer to the tribal groupings associated with one of the founding canoes. This and other historical metaphorical usages will be studied in more depth throughout the chapter.

In referring to the Māori language as a canoe one informant described the language as providing access to the spiritual world.

*Ki a au nei, nā ki ōku nei whakaaro, ko te reo **he waka** wairua* (Bub).

I think, in my opinion, the [Māori] language is a spiritual canoe.

One informant, Sharon, made extensive use of the canoe metaphor. She gave a response similar to Bub's when asked exactly what the characteristics were of the canoe she was talking about.

Ko te reo, ko ngā mea katoa. Ko te taha wairua, ko te manaakitanga, ērā momo āhuatanga katoa (Sharon).

It's the language, and everything. It's the spiritual side, the generosity, all of those kinds of aspects.

Some informants talked about the cargo on this canoe, in doing so emphasising the close link between language and culture.

*Ki a au nei ko te reo **te waka** e kawē ake ana i ngā tikanga*¹³⁰ (Hāriata).

I think that the language is a canoe which carries the customs.

In this expression of the metaphor, Māori culture is the freight inside the language canoe.

These descriptions of the canoe have in common a linking between Māori language and Māori spiritual and cultural realms. However, just describing the Māori language as a canoe in this way was infrequent. Use of the canoe metaphor was more likely to entail the employment of formulaic phrases referring to boarding the canoe.

6.1.2 Getting on board the canoe

In the previous chapter we saw how informants talked about being lost before getting on the language path. One informant linked the canoe metaphor with the idea of being lost.

*I ngā wā o mua, i mua i taku **eketanga ki runga i te waka**, i te **ngaro** ahau. I te mahi ahau i ngā mahi o ngā ranga[tahi], nā, inu waipiro me te kauroki, ērā mahi katoa* (Sharon).

In the past, before I got on board the canoe, I was lost. I was doing the sorts of things young people do, drinking alcohol and smoking pot, all those sorts of things.

¹³⁰ A contraction of this idea, *waka kawē*, is discussed further in section 6.1.5.

This quote also introduces us to one of the variants of a formulaic phrase used by the informants to describe the process of getting on board the canoe. The formula takes the form: *eke*¹³¹ (+subj.) + *ki runga i* + [det.] + *waka*, (get on board the canoe). The verb *eke* is defined by Williams (H. W. Williams 1971) as meaning ‘to place oneself or be placed upon another object’ thus, in the context of a canoe, ‘to board.’ This formula is the most frequent manifestation of the canoe metaphor amongst the informants.

In this quote Sharon goes on to describe what happened after she got on board this canoe. The description of paddling signals engagement with Māori language.

I eke ahau ki runga i te waka, anā kua hoe ahau ki taku Māoritanga. Kātahi au i mārāma, ko ēnei kē te mahi, taku mahi, taku hiahia (Sharon).

I got on board the canoe, and paddled¹³² towards my Māori culture. Then it became clear to me that this was what I wanted to do, what I desired.

Sharon also describes a destination for this canoe voyage. The destination is one associated with Māori culture, contrasting with a previous quote which described Māori culture as the cargo on the canoe. In saying that the canoe was headed for *taku Māoritanga*, my Māori culture, Sharon is indicating that she has a personal relationship with Māori culture and identifies it as her birthright. The use of the first person singular possessive pronoun also implies that she alone is on this canoe.

In contrast, Ginny’s description of getting on board the language canoe implies that there are others on board. Ginny says that it was through her work as a teacher that she realised that she was part of a wider movement.

Ko taku mahi he mahi kaiako Māori. Koinā te wā i whakaaro au kua eke ki runga i tērā waka (Ginny).

My job was working as a Māori teacher. That was the time when I thought that I had got on board that canoe.

In the following quote Sharon makes a slight variation to the formula by substituting the verb *peke* (to jump) for the verb *eke*.

Nā tēnei, ka haere katoa mātou ki te kōhanga reo, ko taku tama me taku pēpi me ahau. Kātahi au i tino peke ki runga i te waka rā (Sharon).

¹³¹ Or related word forms, such as in the example above which uses a noun derived from *eke*.

¹³² The verb *paddle* is the appropriate English word for the action which propels a canoe forward while facing forward. The verb *row* is used for the action which propels a boat forward while facing in the opposite direction.

Because of this we all went to kōhanga reo, my son, my baby and me. It was then that I really jumped on that canoe.

Another variant of this formulaic phrase is used by Karihi who substitutes the noun *kaupapa* (philosophy) for the word *waka*. In this quote Karihi is talking about being involved in a process of what he terms ‘reacculturation’, a process which involves his immersion in the Māori language.

He mea nui tērā ko te wairua kia eke ki runga i te kaupapa (Karihi).

That’s a really important thing, having the spirit to get on board the *kaupapa*.¹³³

As Karihi could easily have used the word *waka* instead of *kaupapa* with no apparent change in meaning this variant introduces us to the idea that the phrase *eke ki runga i te waka* is synonymous with *eke ki runga i te kaupapa*. This reinforces the idea that the ‘language canoe’ is seen as being part of a whole worldview.

The physical act of getting on board the canoe was much more commonly used than just describing being on the canoe.

I te wā i haere ia ki te kōhanga reo kāore au i runga i taua waka i taua wā
(Sharon).

At the time he was going to kōhanga reo I wasn’t on that canoe at that time.

6.1.3 Navigating the canoe

Once on the canoe it is possible to invoke other words associated with canoe travel. We have seen the use of the verb *hoe*, to paddle:

Kua hoe ahau ki taku Māoritanga (Sharon).

I paddled towards my Māoritanga.

A couple of informants referred to the presence of others on the canoe using the word *kaihautū*, which literally refers to someone who marks time for the paddlers in a canoe.¹³⁴ Historically this word has been translated as *helmsman*, *fugleman* or *coxswain*.

Koirā te tino kōrero o tō mātou kaihautū, a [Mea]: kia kōrero Māori i ngā wā katoa (Piringākau).

That was the main thing our leader, [Name] said: to speak Māori at all times.

¹³³ The word *kaupapa* has a range of meanings. Here it is roughly equivalent to ‘philosophy’, or ‘agenda’ (colloquially, this part of Karihi’s sentence could be translated as ‘to get with the programme’). The word *kaupapa* is being used increasingly in New Zealand newspapers without a gloss, indicating that the word is now entering New Zealand English (Davies & Maclagan 2006: 85-86).

¹³⁴ Literally *kai* = person performing an action + *hautū* = to call the beat for the paddlers in the canoe.

The word *kaihautū* often appears by itself in modern text and speech without any other word referring to the canoe metaphor. Although use of the word by itself can evoke the canoe metaphor because of its literal meaning, it seems that *kaihautū* has become somewhat of a dead metaphor in that it is used in a wide range of contexts far removed from the idea of a canoe. For example, in H.M. Ngata and W. Ngata's English-Māori dictionary (1993) the word *kaihautū* is variously defined as a helmsman, a host of a radio or television programme and a 'person of action.' Wide use of the word has meant that this specialist word can now be generally translated as 'a leader', as in the above example.

With the canoe loaded with cargo and paddlers and with someone to lead the group we now need to find out where the canoe is headed.

6.1.4 Heading forward

Except for Sharon's comment about paddling towards her Māori culture, the informants do not talk about a destination for their canoe trip. However, in another part of the interview Sharon talks about the direction the language canoe is taking. She uses the phrase *ahu whakamua*, to head forward.

Nā, ko tāku ināianei kia manaaki, kia poipoia ā tātou tamariki, mokopuna. You know, 'Haere mai, kei konei te waka, haere mai ki te eke ki runga i te waka, kia ahu whakamua tātou.' Kia tū kaha rātou, kia tū mai rātou, kia tū tāngata, kia tū Māori, kia tū Māori (Sharon).

Now, what I'm about now is to care for and encourage our children and grandchildren. You know, 'Come here, this is the canoe, come and climb on the canoe, so we can all head forward.' So they can stand strongly, stand up, stand as people, as Māori, stand as Māori.

What is clear from this description is that there are other people on this canoe and that Sharon associates this canoe with the philosophy of Māori immersion education, part of which includes increasing the self-esteem of Māori children. Sharon sees this kaupapa as a way forward into the future. Thus the idea of spatial movement of a real canoe is associated with social progress, that is, movement ahead in space is equated with social advancement.

While Sharon associates the idea of 'heading forward' with the canoe metaphor, the idea of heading in a direction can also be used either by itself or with the path metaphor. The rest of this section will examine the changing uses of the word *whakamua* and the words associated with it.

The word *whakamua* occurs in the 1844 W. Williams' dictionary with the gloss 'before' and the sample sentence *ka haere ia 'wakamua'*¹³⁵ (He is going before)¹³⁶. The antonym *whakamuri* also appears, glossed as 'behind.' In the third (1871) and following editions of the Williams' dictionaries of Māori these words do not appear as separate entries.

The word *whakamua* does not appear in early texts such as Grey's *Ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna* (1971) and the first three volumes of Ngata and Te Hurinui's *Ngā mōteatea* series.¹³⁷ The antonym *whakamuri* appears five times in *Ngā mōteatea* in the collocations *hoki whakamuri* (to return) and *titiro whakamuri* (to look behind), which although literal, also have figurative meanings. The word *whakamuri* occurs twice in *Ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna*, both times in the phrase *hoki whakamuri* (to turn back) and referring to actual canoe travel.

An analysis of the use of the two words *whakamua* and *whakamuri* was undertaken in two corpora, the Māori newspaper database¹³⁸ and the Māori Broadcast Corpus (MBC) (Boyce 2006). As shown in Table 6.1 the word *whakamua* occurs 121 times in the online Māori newspaper database and its most frequent collocates are *haere*, *titiro*, *ahu* and *anga*.¹³⁹

phrase	meaning	frequency	%
haere whakamua	to go forward	33	27.3
titiro whakamua	to look forward	25	20.7
ahu whakamua	to head forward	6	5.0
anga whakamua	to move forward	1	0.8

Table 6.1. Most frequent collocates of the word *whakamua* in the online Māori newspaper database.

Analysis of the MBC, as shown in Table 6.2 reveals 39 occurrences of the word *whakamua* with a similar distribution of the main collocates.

phrase	meaning	frequency	%
haere whakamua	to go forward	15	38.5
ahu whakamua	to head forward	7	17.9
titiro whakamua	to look forward	5	12.8
anga whakamua	to move forward	3	7.7

Table 6.2. Most frequent collocates of the word *whakamua* in the MBC corpus.

¹³⁵ This text was printed just before the digraph *wh* was introduced into the Māori alphabet. Here *wh* is represented by 'w'.

¹³⁶ Translation from the 2nd edition of the dictionary in 1852 (W. Williams). The word *before* here refers to space, a more modern translation might read: 'He is going ahead.'

¹³⁷ A. T. Ngata 1972, and A. T. Ngata and Te Hurinui 1961 and 1980.

¹³⁸ www.nzdl.org.

¹³⁹ Note that not all uses of the word *whakamua* in the MBC and the Māori newspapers mentioned here will be metaphorical.

The three collocates associated with forward movement (*haere*, *ahu* and *anga*) account for 33% and 63% of all occurrences of the word *whakamua* in the newspaper and MBC corpora respectively. The main difference between the two corpora is the higher use of *titiro whakamua* in the Māori newspapers. With regard to words meaning ‘to head forward’, both corpora favour the collocation *haere whakamua* compared to either *ahu whakamua* or *anga whakamua*.

In the online Māori newspaper database the word *whakamuri* occurs 361 times, three times the number of occurrences of *whakamua* (121). This imbalance in the Māori newspapers suggests that there were more warnings not to turn back to the old ways of life rather compared with encouragements to move forward.

As shown in Table 6.3 the most frequent collocates of *whakamuri* were *hoki* and *titiro*, echoing the examples found in *Ngā mōteatea*.

phrase	meaning	frequency	%
<i>hoki whakamuri</i>	to return back	153	34.6
<i>titiro whakamuri</i>	to look behind	71	19.7

Table 6.3. Most frequent collocates of the word *whakamuri* in the online Māori newspaper database.

There were 39 occurrences of the word *whakamuri* in the MBC (same as the number of occurrences of *whakamua*). Table 6.4 shows that the rates of occurrence of *hoki whakamuri* and *titiro whakamuri* are not too different from that in the newspaper database.

phrase	meaning	frequency	%
<i>hoki whakamuri</i>	to return back	16	41.0
<i>titiro whakamuri</i>	to look behind	13	33.3

Table 6.4. Most frequent collocates of the word *whakamuri* in the MBC corpus.

In both corpora the words *whakamua* and *whakamuri* sometimes occurred in close proximity to each other. The following example from the Māori newspaper collection is a good illustration of the theme of social progress which was prevalent in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These are Reweti Kōhere’s reported words from a 1904 meeting.

E kore e taea te hoki whakamuri, e kore e taea te noho, engari tahuti whakamua, hopukia te mātauranga o te Pākehā (Te Pīpīwharau, 73, 2).

It’s not possible to turn back, it’s not possible to stay still, but hasten forward, grab hold of the education of the Pākehā.

In this time period social advancement was equated with Western cultural ideals. More recently, this sort of status has been accorded to Māori ideas and achievement as demonstrated in the

following example from the MBC. Here the speaker is describing how a *kapa haka*¹⁴⁰ competition is using the previous work of elders as a basis for progress.

*Nā reira, he **ahu whakamua** te mahi, kore nei he paku **titiro whakamuri***
(mbc084).

Accordingly, the work is heading forward without so much as a backward glance.

In both the newspaper and MBC corpora there are examples of the use of *whakamua* with other elements of the canoe metaphor. In the following example from 1928 the chairman of a religious group likens his church to a canoe.

*Ko te wā tēnei e tutuki ai ngā whakahau a **ngā kaihautū** - e karanga nei, mai o te wā i a Mohi, kia kōkiri, kia **ahu whakamua** (Te Toa Takitini, 83, 805).*

This is the time that the instructions of the helmsmen, calling from the time of Moses, to charge forward and to move ahead will be fulfilled.

In the following excerpt from the MBC the speaker uses the canoe metaphor to talk about one of the first children to graduate from *kōhanga reo* into *kura kaupapa* Māori.

*E **hoe** mai ana a [Mea] me ērā atu o ngā tamariki i **te waka** tuatahi mai i te kura Māori. Āhua tere hoki te mahi a te kōhanga reo e **haere whakamua** ana*
(mbc222).

[Name] and those other children are paddling the first canoe to come out of Māori schooling. The achievements of the *kōhanga reo* going forward with great speed.

There are no examples of the use of the path metaphor with the word *whakamua* in the MBC but there are a few examples in the Māori newspapers. This example comes from a 1908 Māori newspaper editorial.

***Whakamua** tonu te haere mā **te huarahi** kua tohungia e te whakapono (Te Pīpīwharau, 126, 6).*

Keep moving forward by means of the path which has been signposted by faith.

However, in both corpora *whakamua* is most often used without any reference to either paths or canoes.

In looking at who constitutes the group who is moving forward we see that it ranges from New Zealand as a whole, through to Māori people in general, Māori tribes, as well as specific Māori

¹⁴⁰ Māori performing arts.

groups. In this quote from the MBC concerning the signing of a treaty settlement between the Tainui tribe and the government, it is the country as a whole which is moving forward.

*Hei tīmatanga tēnei mō te **ahu whakamua** mō tātou, mō te motu, mō te motu*
(mbc102).

This is a start for us, the country, for the country, to head forward.

Sometimes the group moving forward consists of Māori people as a whole. The following quote is from a report by T. R. Kiriwi regarding advice given by Dr Māui Pōmare during a visit to Northland in 1902.

Kaua e **hoki whakamuri** i ētahi rā, ki ngā tikanga Māori kai ai i ngā kai pirau
&c. Engari me **haere whakamua** tiakina paitia tō tinana (*Te Pīpīwharau*, 59,
8).

Don't return to those days and the Māori customs to eat rotten food, etc. Instead
go forward and look after your body.

Figure 6.1 shows the graphic used on the first two issues of the Department of Māori Affairs Magazine *Te ao hou*. The title can be translated as 'The new world' and the image shows the prow of a canoe with a backlit image of an island in the background. This cover is a visual representation of the canoe image being linked with the idea of 'heading forward' into a new age.

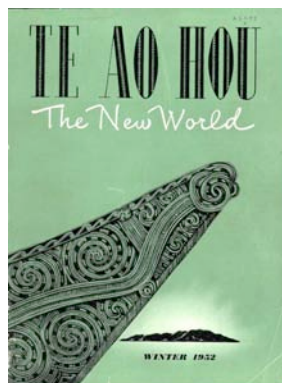


Figure 6.1. Cover image from the inaugural issue of *Te ao hou* 1952.

Because the intended audience for the magazine is the Māori populace this cover image is another example of the concept of the Māori people as a whole who are seen as moving forward.

In this quote from the MBC it is a tribal group which moving forward.

E kī ana te Poari o Tainui he tīmatatanga noa iho tēnei, mō ngā hapū a Waikato.
*Kia **haere whakamua** rātou, otirā, kia riro ki a rātou tō rātou tino*
rangatiratanga a ngā rā, a ngā tau kei mua i te aroaro (mbc102).

The Tainui Board says that this is just a beginning for the Waikato sub-tribes. For them to move forward, but, for them to get their sovereignty in the days and years ahead.

In this example from the reports of a Māori women's temperance association in 1914 it is the temperance groups which are making progress.

*I roto i ā rātou rīpoata ka kitea kei te kaha rawa te **haere whakamua** o ā rātou ope taua, ā, ko tā rātou tino whakataukī tērā, 'Ahu **whakamua** tonu atu, kaua hei hoki whakamuri' (Te Kōpara, 6, 8).*

It is evident from their reports that their groups are going forward, and their main proverb is. 'Continue to head forward, don't turn back.'

Here a speaker from the MBC celebrates the achievement of Māori women.

*Nā, ko taku tūmanako ka **haere whakamua** tonu, me taku mōhio ka, ka taea e rātou ngā taumata (mbc152).*

Now, my hope is that they will keep moving forward, and I know that they will reach the summits.

These examples show the range of groups that can be seen as 'moving forward.' There are also examples where what is heading forward is not a group of people but a particular *kaupapa* (in this case, proposal). Here the speaker is talking about a marae building project.

*Kua roa kē ngā heramana Māori e whakamomori ana kia tū he marae. Ināianei kua **anga whakamua** te kaupapa (mbc076).*

For a long time the Māori sailors have been desperately desiring to erect a marae. Now the proposal is heading forward.

In summary, the following ideas are associated with 'heading forward.'

1. While mostly used by itself, it is sometimes associated with the canoe metaphor, and less commonly with the path metaphor.
2. 'Heading forward' is sometimes used in explicit contrast to 'moving backward.'
3. The idea of 'heading forward' extends the original meaning of *whakamua* from the idea of forward spatial movement to encompass social progress.
4. Previously 'heading forward' was associated with leaving old ideas behind as part of the engagement with modernity. Nowadays it is associated with advancing a Māori-focused agenda.

6.1.5 Other canoes

This section outlines other uses of the canoe metaphor by the informants.

There was one occasion on which an informant referred to himself as a canoe. Piringākau is talking about how he first became involved with Māori language revitalisation. The image he uses is very much individually focused.

*Engari, koirā taku wā tuatahi, āe, me huri anō ahau i taku **waka**. Anei kē taku **waka**. Anei te huarahi mō taku **waka*** (Piringākau).

But, that was my first time, yes, I should turn my canoe. This instead is my canoe. Here is the path for my canoe.

In general speech, one of the most common uses of the *waka* metaphor is in referring to tribal groupings. As mentioned previously, Māori often refer to themselves in groups based on the canoe their ancestors used to migrate to New Zealand from the ancestral homeland Hawaiki. A *waka* group ‘is a superordinate grouping to the other common kinship groupings, *iwi* ‘tribe’, *hapū* ‘sub-tribe’ and *whānau* ‘extended family’ (Boyce 2006: 164).

There were examples amongst the informants of canoes referring to tribes. The following is the response to the question: do you have to be able to speak Māori to be a real Māori?

*Mehemea he whakapapa tōu ki **ngā waka**, ki ngā tūpuna rānei o te ao Māori, he Māori koe* (Watson).

If you have a genealogical connection to the canoes, or to the ancestors of the Māori world you’re Māori.

There are some examples of the use of the word *waka* or the phrase *waka kawē* (literally a vessel that carries something) which seem to reflect the wider meanings of the English word *vehicle*. In the following example the *waka* enables people to express their Māori identity.

*He tino **waka** te reo Māori mō tērā āhuatanga kia te whakaputa tō tūrangawaewae nē, kia mōhio ai te ao he Māori, he Māori koe, he tangata rānei koe e kaha tautoko ana i ngā kaupapa Māori* (Watson).

The Māori language is a main vehicle for that aspect, to express your identity¹⁴¹ eh, so the world knows that you are a Māori, or that you are a person who strongly supports Māori kaupapa.

¹⁴¹ *Tūrangawaewae* literally means ‘a place to stand’ and is usually associated with one’s tribal identity.

The word *waka* originally referred to hollowed out receptacles, particularly canoes. With recent lexical expansion *waka* has become part of numerous compound words to refer to all sorts of real life vehicles. Thus *waka tūroro* = ambulance, *waka patu ahi* = fire engine and *waka rererangi* = aeroplane.¹⁴² Accordingly the word *waka* has come to be associated with the literal meanings of the English word *vehicle*. The above quote suggests that the more figurative meanings of the word *vehicle* have also been incorporated into the meaning of the word *waka*. There were two examples from the informants' speech where the phrase *waka kawē* in particular seems to have this meaning. The first example was generated in response to the question: do you have to be able to speak Māori to be a real Māori?

Kāo. Nā te mea, ko te mea nui ko te whakaaro Māori. Mena ka taea e koe ki te whakaaro pērā. Ko te reo tētahi waka kawē (Stu).

No. Because, the most important thing is to think Māori. If you can think like that [then you're Māori]. The [Māori] language is a vehicle.

The use of the word *waka* associated with *kawē* to refer to the more figurative meanings of the word *vehicle* is also seen in the following quote from a book which explains key concepts in Māori culture.

Ko te reo te waka hei kawē¹⁴³ i ngā whakaaro, tikanga, hiahia, tūmanako, nawe, hītori, karakia, wawata, mātauranga, me ērā atu mea o te tangata.

Language is the vehicle by which thoughts, customs, desires, hopes, frustrations, history, mythology, prayers, dreams, and knowledge are communicated from one person to another (Barlow 1994: 112&114).

6.1.6 Summary

The informants' use of the language as a canoe metaphor has the following characteristics.

1. The most frequent expression of the canoe metaphor was through the use of formulaic expressions based on the phrase *eke ki runga* (get on board). This phrase denotes a sense of consciousness in becoming engaged with the Māori language as well as a whole *kaupapa*, or philosophy, associated with the language.
2. The canoe metaphor was also associated with the idea of heading forward, *ahu whakamua*. Changes in the meaning of the word *whakamua* show that it has extended its meaning to equate spatial movement with social progress. In the 19th

¹⁴² Literally *waka tūroro* = vehicle + sick person, *waka patu ahi* = vehicle + strike + fire and *waka rererangi* = vehicle + fly + sky. See Boyce 2006: 150-154 for a list of such coinages from a range of modern Māori dictionaries.

¹⁴³ Literally, *te waka hei kawē* = 'the canoe which carries.'

century this social progress was associated with Pākehā modernity whereas recent trends are for it to be associated with the advancement of Māori social agendas.

3. As the word *waka* has expanded its semantic field to include real life vehicles it has also taken on the figurative meanings of the English word *vehicle*, especially in the phrase *waka kawē*.

6.2 Early 19th century Māori sources

To trace the origins of the ‘language as canoe’ metaphor we will begin by looking at the use of canoe imagery in some of the earliest Māori writings in the form of sung poetry (sections 6.2.1 to 6.2.3) and proverb (section 6.2.4).

Canoes have a long link with the settlement of New Zealand. Not only did the first ancestors arrive in New Zealand on canoes but the foundation story of the country involves canoes. The great ancestor Māui paddled his canoe out into the ocean and hauled up a massive fish called *Te ika a Māui* (Māui’s fish, the North Island). Some accounts describe the South Island of New Zealand as *Te waka a Māui* (Māui’s canoe).¹⁴⁴

With the arrival of the Pākehā in the early 1800s Māori canoes were soon discarded for more technologically advanced sea-craft. However, over the last twenty years in New Zealand there has been resurgence in *waka* orientated activities, from full scale replica canoes with sails which have retraced the original voyages to New Zealand, through to canoe displays at major events. With the rise in outdoor sporting activities there has also been the development of *waka ama*¹⁴⁵ competitions which take place in relatively safe conditions on harbours and rivers.

This resurgence has seen a number of serious incidents involving crew on *waka taua*, (war canoes), including a drowning on Lake Rotorua. These incidents remind us that in former times ocean and river travel by canoe was not undertaken lightly or without danger. Accordingly, ‘the land was experienced as the familiar, human realm and the ocean was the unstable, dangerous place where men ventured at their peril’ (Orbell 1985: 135).

The importance of canoes in the early recorded life of New Zealand is apparent in the first book about the Māori language, published by the missionary Thomas Kendall in 1815. The book contains sample sentences in Māori with English translations. Many of these sentences are biblically-orientated, such as Māori translations of phrases like ‘thou shalt not kill’, and ‘sacred is the day of the great Atua.’¹⁴⁶ Other phrases, presumably included because of their perceived usefulness in everyday life, include the following:

*Ahaa hoowhi ta wanga? Appopo?*¹⁴⁷

When does the canoe come, to-morrow? (Kendall 1815: 24-25).

¹⁴⁴ Or, variously *Te Waka o Māui*, or *Māhunui*, the name of Māui’s canoe.

¹⁴⁵ *Waka ama* are small outrigger canoes designed for single or team racing. For details see, for example, <http://www.wakaama.co.nz/site/>.

¹⁴⁶ *Atua* = God.

¹⁴⁷ These sentences in Māori were written prior to the formation of the alphabet we use today.

Kahoy tatoo e to' wanga.

We sail in my canoe (Kendall 1815: 30-31).

The word *waka* also features in several sample sentences illustrating points of grammar in the first three editions of the Williams' dictionary (1844, 1852 & 1871).¹⁴⁸ The following are two examples:

Nui atu tēnei waka i tērā.

This canoe is larger than that (W. Williams 1852: xiii).

Ka tere te waka āianeī.

The canoe will be adrift presently (W. Williams 1852: xxx).

These sentences illustrate the importance of canoes in everyday Māori life in the early part of the 19th century. Not surprisingly canoe imagery also features strongly in sung poetry and proverbs.

6.2.1 Waiata aroha

The canoe metaphor has a highly specialised use in *waiata aroha*. In line with the conventional Māori poetic trope where parts of the physical environment are seen to represent the female composer's emotions, canoes represent the composer and her relationship with her male lover.

One of the most common images is that which, in referring to lovers, equates the woman with a canoe, and the man with someone either paddling the canoe or bailing it. ... But the most common use of the metaphor equating a woman and a canoe is in images in which the deserted woman, lamenting her state, likens herself to a canoe which is stranded or broken on the shore (Orbell 1977: 192 & 195).

Taking these two images in turn, there are many examples in *waiata aroha* where the woman equates herself as a canoe, a passive object, with the male lover in control.

Auaka, e Mare, e kohuraia mai —

Nāu te waka nei, he whakahau ki te awa!

Mare, do not expose me thus!

This canoe was yours to command on the river! (Song 23: 15-16).¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ W. Williams 1844; W. Williams 1852; W. and W. L. Williams 1871.

¹⁴⁹ All the references in this section are to Orbell 1977.

A similar image is contained in the following song, except that the word *waka* is absent (the idea of a canoe being implied). This excerpt also associates the formula *eke ki runga* with both canoe travel and sexual congress.

Ko koe, e Te Kawau, te tangata i eke mai

Ki runga nei hoe ai, nāna te kaipara!

Te Kawau, you are the man who mounted me

To paddle, and whose mark [is on me!] (Song 96: 8-9).

The second, more common image, in which the woman sees herself as a canoe stranded or broken on the shore, is illustrated in the following song.

Ka pakaru rikiriki taku waka,

Ka paea ia rā kei te ākau nā!

My canoe is broken to pieces,

And cast up on the rocks nā! (Song 3: 9-10).

To make hollowed out tree trunks serviceable as canoes, wooden top strakes were lashed to the hull. In this image the woman is lamenting the fact that she is perhaps too old or unattractive to receive male attention.

Ka whakapakaru au, tē taea te aukaha!

I am broken, and cannot be lashed! (Song 20: 10).

In summary, the canoe metaphor in *waiata aroha* bears little relation to that used by the informants. In *waiata aroha* the canoe is identified with a single individual, a woman. The key idea conveyed by this image is the relationship between the woman (canoe) and a male lover (paddler) where women are seen as passive and men are in control. The themes of the poetry centre on the emotions of anger, sadness and despair at separation from a beloved.

6.2.2 Oriori

Oriori are lullabies, most often sung to male children of high birth. The aim of the song is to explain the genealogical and political context into which the child was born. Canoe imagery was used in a number of ways in these songs.

Oriori often contain a number of phrases which laud the child and pay tribute to their heritage. In this example the image of the canoe is used directly following an image referring to chiefly adornment.

E mau ana mai Tāmore i te kakī

Hei ata mōhou, tū ake ki runga rā.

Tōhou waka nā ko Whakatere-kohukohu, e *hoe* ai i te wai,

'A *ū* atu ana ngā mata-kūrae ki te Kawakawa.

Wherefore, with Tāmore suspended from your neck

For your adornment, you are now to arise.

Your canoe is Whakatere-Kohukohu, to paddle across the waters,

And make landfall at the headland of Kawakawa (Song 75: 14-15).¹⁵⁰

The canoe reference here draws on two ideas, equating the child with a canoe, thereby paying tribute to his greatness, and also linking the child with an ancestral canoe, which evokes his genealogical status.

References to canoes could also be used to describe an adverse political situation that the child was born into. In this example the reference to the overturning of a *waka taua*, war canoe, indicates recent tribal defeat.

Me aha koe, e tama, ei,

He hurihanga waka taua, ei,

Ko Mahuhu ki te wai?

What to do about you, O son,

In the overturning of war canoes,

Of Mahuhu itself, in the deep waters? (Song 158: 16-18).

Often *oriori* take the form of a journey in which the child is taken around his tribal area to elicit the support of helpful relatives. In this example the metaphorical journey takes place by canoe, the image of a canoe being evoked by the use of the word *hoe*, to paddle. Thus the canoe provides not only a sense of movement throughout the *oriori* but is also a way of organising the poet's thoughts.

Kai mārama koe te titiro ki te mata kūrae,

Ka kōkiritia ki waho, ko Te-Ngaere.

Hoe ake ki muri ki tō tuarā;

Te rongo kai i te oneone, i waiho e ō tīpuna.

From there you can see clearly the headland,

Where it thrusts outward is Te Ngaere.

As you paddle away, behind you

¹⁵⁰ In this and the following section the references are to A. T. Ngata 1972 and A. T. Ngata and Te Hurinui 1961 and 1980.

Will be the renowned fertile soil left by your ancestors (Song 272: 14-16).

In the final two lines of this excerpt the child is seen as a paddler on a canoe. The link with ancestors in the final line emphasises the idea that the child is not by himself and that the canoe represents tribal support.

The canoe mentioned in the following *oriori* refers to the child's tribe. Orbell explains that in this *oriori* the child climbs to the top of a hill and 'from the summit of the hill, the boy will look down upon the territory of a tribe, or tribes, to which he is related' (McLean & Orbell 1975: 294). The resounding of the hull indicates that the 'canoe', or tribe, is in danger.

E piki whakarunga ki te taumata pūhanga matangi!

*Ko tō nui rā tēnā! Ka kō te takere o **te waka** –*

Then climb to the wind-blown summit of the hill!

There are your multitude! The hull of the canoe resounds – (McLean & Orbell 1975: 293).

These examples show the range of use of the canoe metaphor in *oriori*, from linking children with their ancestors to signifying the child's power and prestige. Canoes can also be used to refer to tribal groups and as a device for organising discourse.

6.2.3 **Waiata tangi**

One of the main uses of canoe imagery in *waiata tangi*, laments for the dead, is to describe a vehicle for the deceased to return over the sea to Hawaiki in the journey after death. The mention of Tangaroa in the last line of this *waiata tangi* is a reference to the sea.

*Me **hoe** ki **te waka**,*

Kia rokohanga atu ai e koe

Te tiringa o te māra nā Tanga-roa-i-te-ata;

Place him upon the canoe and paddle on,

So thou may'st arrive upon

The planting of the plantation of Tanga-roa at dawn (Song 226: 11-13).

In this example the deceased is being borne off on the canoe of an ancestor.

*Mairangatia rā ki te mairanga o **te waka** nā Whiro;*

Go forth bravely on the voyage of the canoe of Whiro (Song 226: 24).

In this lament for Tonga-Awhikau from Taranaki his high status is conveyed by the mention of numerous ancestral canoes that will take him across the sea, culminating in the reference to Aotea, the founding canoe of his tribal region.

*E iri, e papa, i runga i Rangi-totohu,
I runga i Rangi-kekero, koe **waka** uru mate
Nō Uru, nō Ngangana, e i.*

*Kauraka e **utaina** ki runga Te Aoao-nunui,
Ko **te waka** tēnā o Tiki-te-pou-rangi,
Me **uta** ō iwi ki runga Rangi-takō*

*Ko **te waka** tēnā i rawe i te whakawai,
Kia heuea e au i te pū, ka tere Aotea, e i.*

You are borne on high, O father, on Rangi-totohu,
And on Rangi-kekero, the canoes of death
Of Uru and Ngangana, alas.

Do not place him upon Te Aoao-nunui,
That canoe is of Tiki-te-pou-rangi.

Let your bones be placed on Rangi-tākou,
That canoe was the one extolled in song.

Let me now clear the way for launching Aotea (Song 300: 20-27).

Canoe imagery can also be used to pay compliment to a great leader, such as in this lament for Taramoana from Taranaki.

*Taku kōtuku noho awa,
Taku tumu herenga **waka**,
My river dwelling heron,
My canoe mooring post (Song 274: 47-48).*

Sometimes canoes can be used to refer to tribal groups. The following *waiata tangi* was composed on the occasion of the untimely death of Peehi Tū-kōrehu who drowned in a canoe mishap in the Kāwhia Harbour in 1836.

*Mā wai e whakamana i **te waka** ka tukoki?*

Who is to command the canoe floating unevenly? (Song 277: 12).

The canoe here refers both to the incident which caused the death and also to the state of the tribe left behind.

The following lament for Torowhakaero of Ngāti Kahungunu refers to a defeat in the Heretaunga region.

*Here-taunga ka mehemeha **taku waka**,*

Whakatekateka ki runga te ngari tai!

Here-taunga is now a shrunken canoe of mine,

That once sailed onward upon the ocean wave! (Song 264: 1-2).

Here the canoe image is extended to cover not the tribal group itself but a region inhabited by a tribal group.

Waiata tangi use the canoe metaphor in a range of ways. Canoes can be used to refer to tribes or tribal regions. Like *oriori* the canoe image can also be used to describe a link with ancestors and to praise the deceased person.

6.2.4 Proverbs

There are numerous proverbs which employ canoe metaphors. This section will examine the most common variants.

In *waiata tangi* and *oriori* we have already met the idea of a canoe representing a tribe. There are numerous proverbs which also use this idea. The following proverb expresses the idea that one's tribe has been defeated.

*Ka mate **taku waka**.*

My canoe is ruined (1034).¹⁵¹

The following proverb also equates canoes with tribes. It expresses the idea that the loss of a leader always brings forward at least one person to replace him.

*Kāore he tangata hei **hoe** mō **te waka nei** kia tere ai. He kotahi tangata? I a*

Whiti, i a Kahupeka, i a Te Rangikahaunga, ka tere te waka.

Alas, there is no one to paddle the canoe so that it will sail. Only a single man?

There is Whiti, and Kahupeka, and Rangikahaunga; the canoe will sail (1069).¹⁵²

One of the most common ways for tribes to be equated with canoes is through the use of *pepeha*, tribal sayings, of the following type:

¹⁵¹ See also proverb 1488. The references here are to Mead and Grove (2001).

¹⁵² See also proverb 1803.

Ko Kurahaupō te waka, te tangata o runga Pō.

Kurahaupō was the canoe and Pō was the man on board (1420).¹⁵³

Most tribes have similar sayings, and these enable speakers in formal settings to succinctly explain their tribal links. These sayings are based on the formula *ko* + name + *te* + noun, where the noun comes from, but is not restricted to, the following set of words: *waka*, *iwi*, *tangata*, *hapū*, *marae*, *awa*, *moana*, *maunga*, *whare nui* (canoe, tribe, ancestor, sub-tribe, marae, river, lake, mountain, meeting house). The order and inclusion of the items is variable.

The following proverb refers to those descended from the Arawa canoe and uses parts of a canoe to refer to the extent of the tribal region.

Ko Maketū te ihu, ko Tongariro te kei.

Maketū is the bow and Tongariro is the stern (1424).

From the idea that a canoe represents a tribal group, some proverbs extend this idea to groups in general. The following proverb is an old one, originally used to refer to someone who has the misfortune to cross the path of a war party. That person is killed to ward off bad luck for the warriors. The war party is likened to a canoe, and the unfortunate individual to a fish who flies across its bows.

He maroro kokoti ihu waka.

A flying fish cutting across the bow of a canoe (556).

There are a number of proverbs where the canoe represents an unspecified group. Perhaps originally the reference was to a tribal group but the nature of the proverbs readily adapts them to more general situations. The following proverb tells us that an organisation with a strong foundation will prevail, despite setbacks.

E kore e ngaro, he takere waka nui.

The hull of a canoe cannot be lost (153).

This proverb uses the canoe metaphor to emphasise the importance of group co-operation if success is to be achieved and quite clearly emphasises that the final destination for a canoe voyage is the safety of solid land.

Kaua e rangiruatia te hāpai o te hoe; e kore tō tātou waka e ū ki uta.

Do not lift the paddle out of unison or our canoe will never reach the shore
(1180).¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ For other examples see proverbs 1430, 1431 and 1512.

A dead person can also be referred to as a canoe. In eulogies the following proverb may be used to state the inevitability of death.

He waka ianei e herea?

Is this a canoe that can be tied up? (827).

Objects related to canoes can also be used to express positive human qualities. The following proverb praises reliability.

Ko te teo herenga waka.

The stake for tying up the canoe (1601).¹⁵⁵

In summary, the most usual use of the canoe metaphor in Māori proverbs is for the canoe to represent either tribal groups or groups in general.

6.2.5 Summary

In the four early sources studied here, canoes are used to represent a range of metaphorical ideas.

1. The idea that canoes represent tribes is contained in three of the four sources: *oriori*, *waiata tangi* and proverbs.
2. Canoes can also be used to provide links with ancestors in *oriori* and *waiata tangi*.
3. The image of canoes can be used in *oriori* and *waiata tangi* to honour and praise people.
4. Canoes can be used to refer to tribal areas in *waiata tangi*.
5. In proverbs canoes can refer to groups in general.
6. In *oriori* canoes can be used as a discourse organising device.
7. The equating of canoes with women only occurs in *waiata aroha* and the symbolism is one of submission and is associated with the despair of separation.

¹⁵⁴ Another proverb concerning the safe progress of an organisation is 2381.

¹⁵⁵ See also proverb 1612.

6.3 The Māori Bible

Although the Bible is rich in metaphor, sailing and seagoing metaphors are rarely evoked. This is perhaps understandable considering that the Israelites in biblical times were essentially a land-dwelling people descended from nomads.

Sailing metaphors are rarely used in the New Testament. The closest idea is the use of metaphors to do with fishing such as when Jesus approaches men fishing from boats on the Sea of Gallilee. He invites these men to be his disciples and, instead of catching fish, to become ‘fishers of men’ (Mark 1: 17).

The Old Testament contains two arks which are both vessels of importance. Both are literal vessels, one a sea-going craft, the other a wooden box, but both have metaphorical connections associated with their respective cargoes. The first ark is Noah’s Ark. When God floods the earth only Noah, his family, and the animals they rescue are saved on the ark, a large boat built by Noah at God’s behest. The boat floats around until the floodwaters recede (Genesis 6-8). Metaphorical associations with this event focus mostly on the idea of the uniqueness of the cargo on board rather than with the idea of a journey.

The second ark in the Old Testament is the Ark of the Covenant, a wooden chest built by the Israelites when they were wandering around the desert. This chest was built to hold the stone tablets of the Law which Moses carved with the words of God (Deuteronomy 10: 1-2). This ark therefore represents God’s presence amongst his people.

In translating the Bible into Māori it would have been natural for the missionaries to use the word *waka*, which essentially refers to a hollowed out receptacle, to represent both arks. This connection is also reinforced by special Māori receptacles called *waka huia*, ceremonial treasure boxes, a modern example of which is shown in Figure 6.2. Originally a *waka huia* would have been, literally, a hollowed out receptacle which contained the prized feathers of the huia bird.



Figure 6.2. A *waka huia*, ceremonial treasure box.

This Māori idea of a vessel which contains valuable items fits in well with the biblical idea of an ark holding a special cargo. Instead, the missionaries decided to use the borrowed word *aaka* for ark. The only explanation for this would be a desire to distance the concept from Māori imagery associated with the word *waka*.

Turning now to how the word *waka* is used in the Māori Bible, there are numerous mentions of sea-going craft in the Bible but few get rendered as *waka*. There are 201 occurrences of the word *aaka* for ark,¹⁵⁶ 108 occurrences of the word *kaipuke* for sailing ship and 10 occurrences of the word *poti* for boat.¹⁵⁷ The word *waka* only occurs 10 times in the Māori Bible, five of these are in reference to troughs or vats, from the basic meaning of *waka* as a hollowed out receptacle.

The fact that the word *waka* was not used for most of these sea-craft and that borrowings and relatively recently coined words were chosen as the more appropriate words to render these words probably reflects a desire to distinguish between canoes propelled by paddling and larger vessels with sails.

Most references to sailing craft in the Bible are literal. There are only two occasions where the word *waka* refers to boats and only one of these is metaphorical. In this verse from Isaiah the *waka* is a galley which represents the enemy. The river and streams represent Zion, the city of God in the new age to come.

*Engari ki reira a IHOWA ki a tātou me tōna nui,
Hei wāhi mō ngā awa whānui mō ngā wai nunui;
Kāhore hoki **he waka e hoehoea** ki reira,
Kāhore he kaupuke nui e tika nā reira (Ihāia 33: 21).*

There the LORD will be our Mighty One.

It will be like a place of broad rivers and streams.

No galley with oars will ride them,

no mighty ship will sail them (Isaiah 33: 21).

The idea contained in this verse is that God's city will be supernatural where the normal deeds of men will have no effect. Thus the final two lines of this verse tell us that Zion cannot be overcome by its enemies.

¹⁵⁶ This includes 39 occurrences of the phrase *te aaka o te kawenata* (the ark of the covenant).

¹⁵⁷ The words *aaka* and *poti* are borrowings from English, while *kaipuke* appears to be a compound formed after European arrival from existing Māori words (the etymology is obscure).

Although the Bible does not widely use the idea of sailing craft in metaphorical phrases we will see in the next section which features late 19th century Māori sources that this traditional Māori motif of canoes will be used to express religious belief.

6.4 Late 19th century Māori political writing

In the section on sung poetry and proverbs we found a number of uses of canoe metaphors, the most common being *waka* representing tribes and groups as well as indicating links with ancestors. In 19th century political writing there are a number changes in canoe referents, most notably expanding the idea of canoes representing groups of people to the idea of canoes representing the beliefs of groups of people.

6.4.1 Traditional usages

In the sources studied¹⁵⁸ there are many references to canoes being tribes. The following example comes from a letter written in 1900 by Rev. Hēmi P. Huata concerning the death of Eruera Kāwhia.

*Haere, e te raukura o Ngāti Porou, ka ngaro koe i ō marae e **hautū** ai koe i te **waka** a tō tipuna a Tūteihonga (He Kupu Whakamārama, 24, 12).*

Farewell, the plume of Ngāti Porou, you will no longer be seen on the *marae* where you were the leader of the canoe of your ancestor, Tūteihonga (Kāretu 2002: 4).

In this letter by Pehimana Horua in 1874 canoes also represent Māori tribes. His argument is that these canoes are in danger because of the actions of both chiefs and government. The metaphor is an extended one.

*Te take i tuhi atu ai ahau, he titiro nāku ki te wai e rere nei, nō reira ahau ka whakaaro, ko te mate tonu kai raro iho, koia ahau i tuhi atu ai ki a koe, mehemea kai a koe, **te tātā** mō te wai e maroke ai **ō tātou waka**, tēnā rā, **tāia** kia maroke, kei tahuri **ngā waka** ka mate tātou, te wai māna e tahuri ai **ō ēnei waka**, ko ngā Rangatira kai uta nei, ko te Kāwanatanga kai tawhiti.*

The reason I write to you, I see that the water is coming in the canoes now, then I thought that death is under[neath]. So I write to you if you have the bayler [*sic*] to dry the water of our canoes, if you have bailed them dry, so that the canoes will not upset, and we shall all die, the water that will upset these canoes, are chiefs here, and the Government at a distance (*Te Wānanga*, 2(2), 9).

Another example comes from a reported speech by Rutere in a meeting with Captain Luce in 1865. The image is one of a tribe fragmented by the civil wars at the time.

Behold **our canoe**. Takitunni¹⁵⁹ is broken! not a slight crack, but a great split.

The canoe is broken, broken. (An old man, Paira Te Arawheriki, indignantly

¹⁵⁸ See section 3.2.1.3 for a list of these sources.

sang out from the crowd, No, no, it is not broken; **the canoe** is not broken) (*BPP* 1969: 418).

This quote with its image of defeat associated with a broken canoe is evocative of similar uses in *waiata aroha* and proverbs.

The following example where the canoe is not a tribe but a tribal region is from a report of the visit of the Colonial Secretary in Northland in 1864.

Rahanana welcomed Mr. Fox, and expressed his determination to remain quiet. He was living in **his own canoe** like his forefathers on his own piece (*BPP* 1970: 584-585).

During the second half of the 19th century it became increasingly common for canoes to be used to refer not just to Māori tribes but Māori people in general. In this letter by Hamutiti in 1859 urging Māori to abandon Māori tohunga in favour of the Christian God the canoe is the Māori people and Christian faith is represented by land.

Rere kia hohoro te hoe o te waka kia ū ki uta kei rokohanga e te hau ki waenga moana - ka tahuri te waka, ka mate ngā tāngata o runga - he ritenga tēnā mō te riri a te Atua (Te Haeata, 1(8), 4).

Rush to quickly paddle the canoe so it lands ashore and won't encounter the wind in mid-ocean – if the canoe overturns, the people on board will die – and that will be due to the wrath of God.

The haste to get to shore reinforces the association that land has with solidity and safety, compared to the ocean which was seen as dangerous and uncertain.

Another use of the canoe metaphor was to refer to the two groups, Pākehā and Māori. The following example is from a 1909 letter by Ngāti Kahungunu of Te Wairoa on the retirement of W. R. Williams as Bishop.

Ko te tūmanako a tōu iwi Māori kia tū mai anō tētahi hei Pīhopa, kia pēnā anō me koe te ū ki runga ki ngā waka e rua (Te Pīpīwharau, 136, 2).

The hope of your Māori people is that you will again stand as bishop so you can again be fixed on the two canoes.

In this reporting of a political speech by Te Kereihe the King movement is described as a canoe.

¹⁵⁹ A misspelling of Tākitimu, a tribal canoe.

This is **the canoe** – **the canoe** for us. We come to support you (Buddle 1860: 41).

This image of the King movement being likened to a canoe also features on the flag of Mahuta who became third Māori king in 1894 (see Figure 6.3).



Figure 6.3. The flag of Mahuta, the third Māori king (Orbell 1995: 170).

The flag uses the image of a canoe to refer not only to the Tainui canoe both in its literal and figurative forms, but also to the King movement as a whole. As a nationalistic movement the King movement had support in other parts of the country so the canoe here represents a wider group than just the Tainui tribal confederation. Both the flag and the quote above, which equate a canoe with a political movement, are early manifestations of the idea that a canoe can be a *kaupapa*, political or philosophical agenda.

6.4.2 Biblical references

Although the Bible contains no templates for the use of canoe metaphors Māori adapted their own formula to advance biblical ideas. Indeed, one of the main uses of the canoe metaphor in the Māori newspapers was in discussing religion. In this form canoes represent Christian faith. The following example is from a report of a speech by Erueti in 1859 at a meeting in Taranaki. Note that the first canoe mentioned is in reference to a tribe.

Karanga mai ki te iwi, te waka. Tēnei au te hoe nei i tōku waka. Kua huaina e au te ingoa o tōku waka ko te Pono, ngā kai o runga ko te aroha, ko te rangimārie, ko te manawanui, ko te atawhai, ko te noho pai (Te Haeata, 1(4), 2-3).

A call of welcome to the tribe, the canoe. Here I am paddling my canoe. I have given my canoe the name of Faith, and the food on board is love, peace, patience, compassion and living in peace.

The meeting continued with several others repeating Erueti's idea of the canoe representing faith.

The following example, from Anaru Matete's reported words from a meeting in Gisborne in 1863, also equates a canoe with faith. The canoe belongs to God and the ocean it is travelling on is the modern world and all its dangers.

Tō tātou waka i tēnei tāima ko te Whakapono. Te āhua o tēnei waka he waka tūpato i te mākū; te moana e hoe nei tātou, ko te ao. Koia i tūpato ai te hoe o tēnei waka kei mākū ngā kainoho o runga i te tini o ngā raruraru o te ao. ... I kōrero pēnei ai ahau, ehara i te mea nā tātou te waka e hoea nei e tātou, engari he kaieke tātou nō tēnei waka; kei te ngaro te tangata nāna nei tēnei waka, arā kei te tuawhenua ia e noho ana; kei ū rawa atu tātou ki uta ka riria tātou e ia. Arā, ko te rā whakawā te awa e ū atu ai tātou. Koia nei te take i tika ai te pupuri i a koe, i te kai whakatere o tēnei waka, arā, o te whakapono. He wehi nō mātou kei eke ki te Huripureiata; arā, ki te ao Māori (Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri, 1(9), 3).

Our canoe at this time is Faith. The appearance of this canoe is a canoe that is wary of the wet; the ocean which we are paddling on is the world. That's why the crew of this canoe are cautious lest those on board become drenched from the many problems of the world. ... I speak like this, because it's not as if the canoe being paddled by us belongs to us, but we are passengers on this canoe; the person who owns this canoe is missing, but he's on shore waiting; lest when we land ashore he will be angry with us. That is, the river where we will land is the day of judgement. That's why it's right that you, the navigator of this canoe, should be holding on to faith. The rest of us are afraid lest the Huripureiata,¹⁶⁰ that is, the Māori world, overwhelm us.

The final image reveals concerns lest Māori tradition is inimical to progress of the canoe in the modern world.

The following quote is interesting in that it encourages Māori to cease thinking about their separate canoes (tribes) and instead join together on the canoe of faith.

Nā, kei moehewa te ngākau o te tangata, kei wehewehe ōna whakaaro; kei kī ia, 'Ko mea taku waka, ko mea taku waka.' Ahakoa nō runga i a Aotea, i a Tainui, i a Te Arawa, i a Kurahaupō, i a Mātātua [sic], i a Korouta [sic], i a Tākitumu

¹⁶⁰ This name was given to a slaughter which occurred at sea when Ruatapu massacred the crew of a canoe. Only Paiea escaped to make it safely to New Zealand.

[sic], i a Te Whakatakere, i a Tokomaru; - Ahakoa he tini kē **ngā waka nei**, ko ngā tāngata o runga kotahi anō. Nā ngā tikanga o te kūaretanga, ka marara haere ngā whakaaro, ka whakatangata kē tētahi ki tētahi; ko tēnei ka **eke** ngā iwi katoa **ki te waka kotahi**, ka tūhonohonoa ngā whakaaro, he mea hoki ka mārama kehokeho i ngā tikanga o te Rongo Pai (*Te Waka o te Iwi*, 1(1), 3).

Now, lest people be under wrong impression and their thoughts be divided, and they say, ‘Such-and-such is my canoe, Such-and-such is my canoe.’ Whether they be from Aotea, Tainui, Te Arawa, Kurahaupō, Mātaatua, Horouta, Tākitimu, Te Whakatakere or Tokomaru – although there are many of these canoes, the people on board are all one. Due to how ignorance works, ideas get spread around and some take root; there’s this: that all the tribes should board the one canoe, their thoughts will be joined together, and they will clearly understand the meaning of the Gospel.

The quotes above are all examples of metaphorical canoes representing an abstract idea. This is an extension of the original metaphor in which canoes could represent people, either as individuals (as in *waiata aroha*) or as groups, particularly tribal groups. Now the people are the crew on the canoes and the canoes now represent the beliefs of those on board.

6.4.3 Government

One of the main themes in government relationships with Māori during the second half of the 19th century was in establishing Pākehā law in Māori areas. There are a number of examples where the canoe metaphor was adapted to refer to the abstract concept of law. The following is a translated quote of words by Karaka Tomo which reflect a common trope of the time: that governmental law was the enactment of God’s law on earth.

Noah was saved when the world was drowned, because he had **an ark**. The white men will be saved even if the Māoris drown – because they have **an ark**. The law and order is **their ark** (*AJHR* 1860: 38).

Resident Magistrate Francis Fenton took up the canoe metaphor in his discussions with Ngāti Hine at Paetai in 1857 about introducing law to the region. The speeches by Māori in reply followed his lead. The following are the translated words of Kapihana.

Your canoe is a big one, a *pītau*. I will **get on board**. It is a quick **canoe**. We shall soon get to land. I will get on no other **canoe** (*AJHR* 1860: 43).

Taimona expressed similar sentiments.

Yours is a good **canoe**, and high out of the water. The waves cannot come into it. Therefore I think that this is the only **canoe** for me. Other **canoes** are little and shallow, and the **steerers** are ignorant. There is another **canoe** I have heard of, but it is shallow, and the steerer cannot see his way to land, for he is blind. I will not get on board that **canoe**, for I fear being **capsized** (*AJHR* 1860: 43).

The following are the words of the prophet Te Kooti Arikirangi, as he lay dying in April 1893.

Ko te waka hei hoehoenga mō koutou i muri i ahau, ko te Ture. Mā te Ture anō te Ture e aki.

The canoe for you to paddle after me is the Law. Only the Law can be pitched against the Law (Ihimaera 1998: 190).

As in the previous section, these are examples of canoes representing an abstract idea (law) associated with a group of people (citizens of New Zealand).

6.4.4 Newspapers

One of the most common uses of the canoe metaphor in this period was its use in referring to Māori newspapers. There were 34 Māori newspapers printed by various government, church and Māori organisations between 1842 and 1932 and the titles of these papers often reflected two main themes. Six newspapers were named after birds.¹⁶¹

The bird shared a place in the newspapers with many such symbols. One not unlike it, in signifying a paper's long-distance carriage of a freight of knowledge was the *waka* or canoe. The word carried a range of associations, the 'traditional referentiality' of the oral arts. It was evocative of the ancestral vessels that came from Hawaiki, of each tribe's genealogical line from its famed canoe, of varied imagery in poetry, and of function in everyday life (McRae 2002: 50-51).

The five newspapers which included references to canoes in their titles are *Te Waka o te Iwi*, *Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri* which became *Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirani*, *Te Waka Māori o Aotearoa* and *Tākitimu*.¹⁶² Figure 6.4 shows the masthead of *Te Waka Māori o Aotearoa*.

¹⁶¹ They are: *Te Hōkioi*, *Te Pthoihoi Mokemoke*, *Te Korimako*, *Te Pīpīwharau*, *Te Kōpara* and *Huia Tangata Kotahi* (this name literally meaning 'Unite all people' but with the masthead including *huia* feathers, also making reference to the *huia* (a native bird)).

¹⁶² The meanings of these titles are *Te Waka o te Iwi* (The Canoe of the People), *Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri* (The Māori Canoe of Napier) which became *Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirani* (The Māori Canoe of New Zealand), *Te Waka Māori o Aotearoa* (The Māori Canoe of New Zealand) and *Tākitimu* (the name of a tribal canoe).



Figure 6.4. Masthead from Māori newspaper *Te Waka Māori o Aotearoa*.

The graphic, which is similar to those on some of the other ‘canoe’ newspapers, shows a canoe being paddled in a calm situation. There are numerous paddlers, with a centrally placed *kaihautū*. The motto *hoea te waka, ha!* can be translated as ‘paddle the canoe!’ and the slogan at the bottom *Ko te Tika, ko te Pono, ko te Aroha* means ‘Justice, Truth and Love.’ These newspapers were ‘often likened to a *waka* (canoe) which Māori were encouraged to board and help paddle to its destination or the enlightened new era for Māori people’ (Curnow & McRae 2001: 20).

A good example of this invocation comes from the editorial in the inaugural edition of *Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri* in 1863.¹⁶³

Me Hoturoa o mua i tō i tōna waka, a Tainui, ki te wai i Hawaiki kia rere noa i te moana tauhou ki te rapu kainga mōna i ngā whenua ngaro, koia hoki mātou ka kōkiri i tā mātou waka tīwai, Te Waka Māori O AHURIRI nei, ki runga ki te moana ngarungaru, i te moana tārewarewa noa, o te Whakaaro tangata - māna e rewa, māna e totohu (Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri, 1(1), 1).

Just as Hoturoa of former times, who dragged his canoe Tainui to the water in Hawaiki and set sail over uncharted oceans in search of a home in unknown lands, so we too, launch our canoe, Te Waka Māori O AHURIRI, onto the choppy seas, the turbulent sea, of people’s thoughts - for it to float or sink.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Similar sentiments also appear in the first issue of *Te Waka o te Iwi*, 1(1), 3 published in 1857.

¹⁶⁴ Translation from the Digital Library website: www.nzdl.org.

This editorial links the new canoe (the newspaper) with the ancestral canoes which first came to New Zealand. The success or failure of the enterprise depended on support from the paddlers (its readers).

Often readers sent in letters to be published which began by asking that their letter be loaded on board. This letter was published in 1875.

Utaina atu ngā toru kupu nei ki **tō tātou waka**, hei kawē atu māna ki ngā wāhi e haerea ai e ia (*Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirani*, 12(21), 262).

Load these few words onto our canoe for the canoe to carry it to the places that it travels to.

Similarly, this letter by Renata Pukututu published in 1864 was in response to one by Paora Rerepu.

E hoa, tukua atu tēnei reta ki te ‘Waka Māori’ kia **hoea** atu ki a Paora (*Te Waka Māori o Ahuriri*, 2(31), 3).

Sir, send this letter to the ‘Waka Māori’ to be paddled out to Paora.

The canoe image is used in an extended metaphor in the beginning to this letter written by Hone Paerata in 1883 which praises the work of the newspaper *Tākitimu* in spreading information throughout the tribal district.

KI TE KAITUHITUHI o TE WAKA NEI o TĀKITIMU. Utaina atu ēnei kupu āku hai **utanga**. **Eke** mai rā! *E te iti! E te rahi! Ki runga i te waka*, nāna i **uta** mai te wānanga, me te atua o [ō] koutou tīpuna, arā, a Kahukuwa [sic], he mea whakamīharo nō ā tātou tīpuna i ō rātou rā. Waihoki, ko tēnei, he mea whakamīharo ki a tātou tēnei waka; kia rongō ai tātou i te kōrero (*Tākitimu*, 2, 5).

To the editor of this canoe *Tākitimu*. Load on board these words of mine as cargo. Embark! The great and the small! On to the canoe which has loaded aboard the knowledge, and the god of your ancestors, that is, Kahukura, it is a wonderful thing from our ancestors in their days. Furthermore, there is this, this canoe is a wonderful thing for us; so we can hear the stories.

This canoe imagery also featured in letters to newspapers which did not have canoe referents in the title. The following is one such example from a letter by Heremaia Hiku in an 1899 edition of *Te Tiupiri* (The Jubilee).

E hoa mā, kia pai te **uta** i **tō tātou waka** ia te *Tiupiri* kei whati tētahi o **ngā hoe** ka **paea** haere, kei whati katoa rānei, ka tahuri **te waka** (*Te Tiupiri*, 2(56), 11).

Friends, let us carefully load our canoe, The Jubilee, lest one of the paddles break
and it begins to go aground, or breaks up and the canoe capsizes.

Thus newspapers in general are seen as canoes taking information around the country.

As well as being associated with newspapers, the canoe image was also associated with stamps. Figure 6.5 shows a 1906 commemorative stamp issue featuring the Te Arawa canoe.



Figure 6.5. The 1906 New Zealand commemorative halfpenny stamp depicting the Te Arawa canoe.

In 1907 Tīmi Wāta Rimini commented on what a great honour the stamp was for the Te Arawa tribal confederation.

*Kua waiho ko Te Arawa waka hei pane-kuini ināianei. Utaina katoatia ā koutou
reta ki runga i a Te Arawa, māna e hari ki ngā pito e whā o te ao! (Te
Pīpīwharauora, 106, 7).*

It has been arranged that *Te Arawa* waka should now be a postage stamp. Place
all your letters on board *Te Arawa*, and it will carry them to the four ends of the
earth! (Orbell 1998: 157).

6.4.5 Summary

During the late 19th century we see a continuation of traditional uses of the canoe metaphor with references to both tribes and various other groups being canoes. But the most striking feature of canoe imagery in this period is the expansion of the concept into a range of innovative applications, most notably, with canoes now representing abstract concepts such as Christian faith and governmental law. Faith and law were the cornerstones of the modern new world that Māori were determined to engage with.

The association of the canoe metaphor with the King movement, was, in all probability, the first example of a canoe being associated with a nationalistic Māori agenda, a *kaupapa*. The idea that

canoes can be a *kaupapa* is a key component of the informants' use of the canoe metaphor and the 19th century examples show that this application is at least 100 years old.

Another innovative application of the canoe metaphor was also seen in Māori newspapers, with these carriers of the written word being seen as canoes, travelling around New Zealand with a precious cargo of Māori knowledge on board. This too, is mirrored in the informants' use of the canoe metaphor.

All the innovative uses of the canoe metaphor during this period have in common the idea that instead of canoes representing people, people now become the paddlers on the canoe, with the canoe now representing beliefs and agendas held by those on board the canoe.

6.5 Early 20th century Māori sources

In this section the use of canoe metaphors will be examined in the correspondence between Sir Peter Buck and Sir Āpirana Ngata and the songs of Tuini Ngāwai. While the canoe metaphor does not feature extensively in these sources, both use the metaphor quite in different ways.

6.5.1 The Buck and Ngata correspondence

The correspondence between Buck and Ngata contains both traditional and innovative uses of the canoe metaphor. Although canoes are not often actually mentioned, their presence is implied by the use of words associated with canoe travel.

There are several examples where the canoe metaphor is used to refer to Māori tribes. The following example was written by Ngata in 1931 in reference to the leadership of the Te Āti awa tribe.

He hoe kē tā te ihu, he hoe kē tā te kei.

The bow paddles one way and the stern another (Sorrenson 1987: 129).

Another example is provided in 1936 on the occasion of the recovery of Tai Mitchell from a serious illness. Tai was a prominent leader from the Te Arawa tribal confederation and Ngata writes that everyone is

thankful that **the Arawa canoe** is once more saved from the korokoro o te Parata (Sorrenson 1988: 218).

The reference here is both a literal and a figurative one. The Te Arawa canoe nearly perished on its voyage to New Zealand when it was drawn into a huge whirlpool in the ocean named *te korokoro o te Parata* (the throat of Parata). Tai is personified as the canoe of the whole tribe thus emphasising how important he is to the tribal community he serves.

The canoe metaphor was also used to refer to Māori people in general. In this example written in 1928 Buck is referring to the difficulties indigenous peoples have in their engagement with modernity. The freight he mentions are Māori custom and tradition.

Are we trying to hang on to too much or are we **jettisoning** valuable **freight** that **the canoe** may reach the haven? (Sorrenson 1986: 144).

The destination appears to be a full role in the modern world. Buck sees Māori culture as being an important part of that involvement with modernity. This contrasts with strong themes in the Māori newspapers where Māori culture was often described as being a hindrance to advancement

in the new world, but foreshadows examples in the following sections where Māori culture becomes the key to the future.

The only example written in Māori which refers to Māori people in general as a canoe comes from a letter written by Ngata in 1934. He is commenting on a critical report from the Native Affairs Commission which led to him resigning his two cabinet portfolios. Ngata expresses concern about a reaction of despair from the Māori community.

*Otirā ka whakapau au i tōku kaha ki te **whakarewarewa** i a rātau*

However I will exhaust all my strength to keep them afloat (Sorrenson 1988: 169).

The most frequent use of the canoe metaphor in the Buck and Ngata correspondence is in referring to New Zealand as a canoe. Here Ngata is referring to proposed currency reform in 1936 which will affect all New Zealanders. Although a canoe is not mentioned, its presence is implied by the context. The sea is the current political and social situation.

*Ki te pōkare **te moana** ka mākū tahi te pākehā me te Māori*

It the sea should become agitated, the pākehā will become wet as well as the Māori (Sorrenson 1988: 207).

In this excerpt from a 1931 letter by Ngata he refers not to canoes but ships, in fact, ‘the ship of state.’ This is a very old metaphor, originally coined by Plato in book VI of the *Republic*.¹⁶⁵ The ship of state here is New Zealand, with the government acting as pilots and navigators.

The Coalition Government will succeed no doubt in **piloting the ship of State** into steadier **waters**, but New Zealand will want to readjust itself to new conditions and the present **crew of the ship** will be too weary to see new ideas (Sorrenson 1987: 240).

Another example of the wider New Zealand population being described as a canoe is implied in the following quote from Ngata in 1928. He is discussing the importance of Māori *whakapapa* (genealogy) for ‘this young nation.’

We have little else to guide us through the **shoals** of pre-Pākehā New Zealand history (Sorrenson 1986: 114).

This quote again highlights how Buck and Ngata see aspects of Māori culture as being of importance in the new world.

¹⁶⁵ Page 488 of Plato’s *Republic*, see, for example, Lee 1987: 222.

In the previous section we saw how Māori used the canoe metaphor to refer to a number of Māori newspapers, especially those with canoe names. Ngata established the Board of Māori Ethnological Research in 1923 and Figure 6.6 shows the Board's seal which features a canoe with the slogan *utaina* which Ngata translates as 'Load (the Precious Freight on Board)!'. He goes on to say that this slogan 'is a clarion call to us to load on board what remains of our previous heritage, the language' (A. T. Ngata 1972: xiv).



Figure 6.6. The seal of The Board of Māori Ethnological Research.

In this quote from a letter written in 1930 Buck refers to the idea of the Board of Māori Ethnological Research being a canoe.

*Ka tuhituhia e au tētahi atu pukapuka mā te Poari e **uta** ki runga ki **tōna waka**.*

I will write another book for the Board to load on to its canoe (Sorrenson 1987: 75).

The use of this canoe metaphor in this way draws on the idea in Māori newspapers that vehicles of the written word have a role in recording Māori traditions.

An innovative use of the canoe metaphor comes from Buck, who on several occasions refers to Ngata's cabinet portfolios as *waka*. In a letter of condolence written in 1929 on the death of Ngata's wife and son Buck suggests an island recuperation.

*Haere mai kia rongu koe i te tangi o ngā hau o te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa ā mā rātou e whakahoki ora i a koe ki te kāinga ki te **hautū** i **ngā waka** e rua.*

Come and listen to the sounds of the winds of the Great Ocean-of-Kiwa which will return you home fresh and invigorated to guide the two canoes (Sorrenson 1986: 190-1).

The two canoes are Ngata's portfolios of Native Minister and Minister for the Cook Islands. Buck again uses this image in the conclusion to a letter written in 1931.

*He oi anō **te punga** ki te kāinga ko ō reta mai. Engari anō rā ā konā kei roto koe i te mātotorutanga o te tangata me ngā mahi i runga i **ō waka**. Tēnei **he waka paea** ki tawhiti.*

Your letters to me are the anchor to home. But over there you are in the thick of the people and the work for your canoes. The one here is a canoe stranded afar (Sorrenson 1987: 116).

Also contained in this quote is reference to Buck himself being a canoe, with the image of being stranded afar echoing the laments by the women poets in *waiata aroha*.

This final quote was written by Ngata in 1934. Ngata is talking about the agenda which both he and Buck have been following in their various pursuits.

*Ka hoki te whakaaro ki te tino kaupapa i **hoea** mai ai e tātau i roto i ngā tau nei,
ko te oranga tinana o tō tātau iwi i te ao nei.*

The thoughts return to the real purpose which we have brought forth¹⁶⁶ through the years – it was the survival of our people in this world (Sorrenson 1988: 147).

The translation provided somewhat obscures the fact that the thing which has been paddled (brought forth) is a *kaupapa* (here translated as a ‘purpose’). That is, this quote uses the idea that a canoe can be a *kaupapa*.

6.5.2 The songs of Tuini Ngāwai

Canoe imagery does not feature strongly in Ngāwai’s compositions. In only two songs is canoe imagery used to refer to tribal groupings. The first reference is a conventional one where the word *waka* is used to refer to tribes.

*Kia ora e **ngā waka** o te motu e* (‘Tō karere ki ahau e’: 11).

Greetings to the canoes of the island.

In the following song of tribute canoes are not actually mentioned but a person is described as an anchor. References to descendants of Tū-tāmure make it clear that the canoe that he is anchoring is a Ngāti Porou sub-tribe.

*Nāhau rā e Amo, **te haika** e tau nei*

Ngā mokopuna a Tūtāmure (‘Nāhau rā e Amo’: 75).

It was you, Amo, the anchor that rests here

The grandchildren of Tū-tāmure.

¹⁶⁶ That is, ‘paddled forth.’

Ngāwai uses the canoe image in two songs which refer to the Second World War. In the following song, the young soldiers are urged to pull a canoe which represents New Zealand. In other words, they are asked to valiantly represent their country.

Tō tōia te waka nei e ngā tama toa

Te waka o Aotearoa, te waka o Māui e

Ki Ihipa.

Pull and drag this canoe brave sons

Aotearoa's canoe, Māui's canoe to Egypt ('Tō tōia': 94).

Here 'Aotearoa's canoe' is a reference to the North Island of New Zealand (Aotearoa being the Māori name for the North Island) and *te waka o Māui* (Māui's canoe) refers to the South Island. Referring to New Zealand in this way gives a particular Māori focus on the idea of our island nation and links back to the canoe mentioned in the first line of the quote.

The idea of New Zealand being referred to as a canoe in times of war had also been used in the song 'Hoea rā te waka nei' composed for the Great War by Paraire Tomoana. The song was intended to inspire support of the war effort amongst those at home. The most usual variant of the first two lines of this song are as follows.

Hoea rā te waka nei.

*Hoea, hoea ki te pai.*¹⁶⁷

Paddle this canoe.

Paddle, paddle towards peace.

Both this and Ngāwai's song equate New Zealand as a canoe, the only difference being that Ngāwai's song has the canoe being propelled forward by soldiers pulling the canoe, while here it is New Zealanders who are paddling the canoe.

Two other Ngāwai songs identify canoes with peace. This song was also composed during the Second World War.

Tōia mai te Waka pai,

*Kia tau ki te ūnga i takoto ai ki tona,*¹⁶⁸

Takoto ai, takoto ai,

Kia mau te pupuri, tōia mai te Waka ('Māoriland': 32).

Haul forth the canoe of peace,

¹⁶⁷ http://folksong.org.nz/hoea_ra/index.html.

¹⁶⁸ This appears to be a misspelling of *konā*.

To land at the berthing place to lie there,
Rest, lie there,
To keep holding on, haul forth the canoe.

The theme of the following song is the importance of Māori culture for young people in *te ao hou* (the new world).

Ko taku waka he rangimārie,

The canoe I am piloting is peace ('Ko taku waka': 90).

6.5.3 Summary

Both of these sources use the canoe metaphor somewhat differently. In the Buck and Ngata correspondence the most frequent image is to one of New Zealand as a whole being a canoe or ship. The most common image in Ngāwai's songs is a religiously influenced one where the canoe represents peace.

Traditional references to canoes being tribes, extended to Māori people in general are also found in these sources. There are also examples of canoes being equated with abstract ideas such as peace and Māori causes.

6.6 Late 20th century Māori sources

Late 20th century Māori sources exhibit a range of uses of the canoe metaphor including traditional uses in laudatory and eulogistic phrases and in referring to tribes as canoes. These sources also develop the idea that canoes can be *kaupapa* with Māori on board the canoes as paddlers, rather than groups of Māori being canoes in their own right.

6.6.1 Writing about Māori identity and the Māori language

In the sources studied for this section there are a number of examples of traditional uses of the canoe metaphor. In this example, the metaphor is used to give acknowledgements to the dead.

Haere e hoki i runga i ō koutou waka
Ki Hawaiki-nui, ki Hawaiki-roa, ki Hawaiki-pāmamao
Ki Te Hono-i-wairua.

Go, return on your canoes,
 To Great Hawaiki, to Long Hawaiki, to Hawaiki of the Great Distance,
 To the Gathering Place of the Spirits (Kāretu 1975: 43).

As we have seen in earlier texts, tribal canoes are often vehicles to the afterlife.

This example, though in English, conveys the same sentiments, but the canoe is an individual one conveying the deceased to Hawaiki.

Dad, I hope that all the tears we have wept over the last few days will provide safe passage for **your waka, the waka** that will carry you to the other side. On that far shore, there will be a mighty host of our tīpuna waiting, Dad (Whaitiri 1998: 184).

There are also numerous examples of the use of canoes to refer to tribal groups.

Ka hoki au ki te mauri o taku waka, o Mātaatua.
 And so I return to the life-giving essence of my ancestral canoe, Mātaatua
 (Kāretu 1975: 42).

The following excerpt is from a waiata composed for the opening of a meeting house in 1980.

Ki ngā waka kua eke mai
ki runga i te taonga e tū nei
te Kupenga o Te Mātauranga (Whakamoe 1996: 24).

To the canoes who have ascended here
 on to the treasure which stands here

Te Kupenga o Te Mātauranga.

We have met the phrase *eke ... ki runga* to refer to boarding a canoe, but it is also used, as in this song, to refer to the ritual of a visiting group coming on to a marae. The marae, or space in front of a meeting house, is seen as being higher than the ground around it. Thus groups ‘come on’ or ‘ascend’ on to marae, and this is expressed in Māori by the verbs *eke* and *whakaeke*.

In late 20th century sources canoes are also talked about as providing a link with the ancestors. In a review of Robert Sullivan’s poetry book *Star Waka* (1999) Peter H. Marsden discusses the overarching idea of canoes throughout Sullivan’s book and the way that Sullivan plays on the polysemy of the word *waka*.

The waka has become **the vehicle** of ancestor transmission, **the upturned canoe** becomes the roof beam of the meeting-house.¹⁶⁹

In the following quotes Rose Pere uses the traditional idea of women as canoes. However, her use is a departure from the way the image was used in *waiata aroha* where women are passive and the theme is one of separation. Here women’s role is seen as essential and is celebrated. This is from Pere’s poem ‘He Waiata Aroha ki Taku Tipuna Ki a Hine Pukohurangi.’

Kīhai rawa te tohu

*O te uha, **he waka** hei!*

It is said that the symbol

of the element that is female is the canoe (Pere 1990: 6).

She elaborated this idea with the following statement.

Women are **the most sacred canoes** that carry descendants from one generation to the next (Pere 1990: 4).

There are also references to a canoe being ridden by Māori people. Here Robert Mahuta talks about the voyages of Māori ancestors to this country and wonders about the future for Māori in New Zealand.

This **voyage** into the future is a **voyage** into the unknown for us. There is strength in this venture if we have firm allies who are committed to **the same course** (Mahuta 1979: 21).

¹⁶⁹ www.nzepc.auckland.ac.nz/authors/sullivan/marsden/asp.

In this quote from 1987 Haare Williams is talking about the role of broadcasting in the cultural renaissance.

At present, Māoridom is on a **wave** of cultural renaissance, riding the **waka kahurangi**¹⁷⁰ in search of information about the truth of its past. Radio and television, as part of **the canoe**, have the capacity to reach a nationwide audience (H. Williams 1987: 100).

We saw how the canoe metaphor had been applied to newspapers and books beginning with the Māori newspapers in the late 19th century. This image is also used by Robert Mahuta in the book *Puna wairere* (1990) which was a follow up to the book *He mātāpuna* (1979). In talking about those involved with the production of the first book, Mahuta describes Rangi Mete-Kingi as the one who navigated the canoe (*nāna i whakatere te waka*) and Eddie Taihakurei Durie as the one who called the time for the paddlers (*nāna i hautū*). Noting the eleven year gap between the two books Mahuta says,

E tika ana kia āta tirohia anō te rere o te waka. Koirā te pātai o te hinengaro, 'Kei whea tātou, e ahua ana tātou ki whea?' (Mahuta 1990).

It is appropriate to carefully examine again how the canoe is sailing. For the heart's question is, 'Where are we, where are we headed?'

This quote also marries the idea of the canoe imagery with the idea of moving forward, that is, social progress.

In the following quote Kara Puketapu explains the concept behind the Tū Tangata initiative from the Department of Māori Affairs. His use of the canoe imagery extends that of the two examples above where Māori are paddlers on the canoe, to explicitly state that the canoe itself is a political and social agenda.

Ko Tū-tangata te waka. ... Piki ake ki runga ki tō tātou waka; kia ū te pupuru i tō hoe; whakarongo ki te takitaki a Te Kāea; huria te ihu o te waka hei wāwāhi i ngā tai e ngurunguru nei i waho o te Ākau (Puketapu 1979a: 1).

Tū Tangata is the canoe. ... Climb up onto our canoe; fasten your hold on your paddle; listen to the recitations of *Te Kāea*;¹⁷¹ turn the prow of the canoe to break through the tides which rumble out to sea off the coast.

¹⁷⁰ A *waka kahurangi* is a prized or precious canoe.

¹⁷¹ Magazine of the Department of Māori Affairs, 1979-1981. The name of this magazine means 'leader' (Puketapu 1979a: 2).

There are also some novel uses of the canoe metaphor during this period. The following quote from 1979 gives a Māori flavour to the English idiom ‘to rock the boat.’ Mead is addressing possible concern about the reaction of Pākehā to the Māori renaissance.

There is likely to be talk of treason and urgent pleas of ‘please do not rock the **canoe**’ (Mead 1979: 63).

One example of the use of the canoe metaphor where Māori language is the *waka* occurs in a 2002 Te Puni Kōkiri publication reporting on positive results contained in a 2001 Survey on the Health of the Māori Language.

Kua huri te kei o te waka mō te reo Māori (Kōkiri paetae, 44, 3).

The prow of the canoe for the Māori language has turned.

Another example comes from book on *whaikōrero* (traditional oratory) published in 1981. The purpose of the book was to introduce language learners to the depth of Māori poetic expression contained in formal funerary oratory.

It is hoped that these examples will give those concerned in carrying on the traditions of *whaikōrero* a tool with which to carve **a paddle, a paddle** that takes years of listening and watching to learn to use properly, and **a paddle** which has no use without **the canoe** (Brooke-White 1981: 4).

The context implies that the canoe being spoken of is the Māori language. People are urged to get on board and participate.

Late 20th century writings on Māori identity and Māori language use the canoe metaphor in a variety of ways. There are traditional uses in eulogistic phrases sending the dead to the afterworld and in referring to Māori tribes. However most examples do not equate Māori with canoes but rather Māori are the paddlers on board the canoe. Instead, the canoe is any of a number of Māori focused *kaupapa* or agendas, including the Māori language.

6.6.2 Songs of Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

There are only a few examples of the use of canoes as metaphors in the songs from the University of Waikato kapa haka group. With regard to traditional usages, there are two examples of the use of canoes to honour people. One example is from a song composed in 1985 to honour the Māori Queen.

Kia tū mai koe i te ihu o te waka

Te manu ariki, te kākā ariki.

So that you can stand at the helm of the canoe
 O noble lady, O chiefly one (Kāretu 1987: 81-82).

The following song composed in 1977 employs a convention used in *oriori* where a canoe is used as a discourse organising device. In paying respects to the Waikato people the composer takes us on a tour around Waikato landmarks. Although the word *waka* is not actually mentioned it is implicit in the use of the verb *ā*, to reach the land, arrive by water.

Ū ana au ki Tūrangawaewae, ki te marae rongonui o te motu e,
 And so I make my landfall at Tūrangawaewae,
 The most famous marae in the land (Kāretu 1987: 31-32).

There are also examples of the use of the canoe image to refer to Māori people in general. The following is a traditional and well-known *haka pōwhiri* performed to welcome visitors on to the marae.

<i>Kaitātaki:</i>	<i>Tōia mai!</i>
<i>Katoa:</i>	<i>Te waka!</i>
<i>Kaitātaki:</i>	<i>Ki te urunga</i>
<i>Katoa:</i>	<i>Te waka!</i>
<i>Kaitātaki:</i>	<i>Ki te moenga</i>
<i>Katoa:</i>	<i>Te waka</i>
	<i>Ki te takotoranga i takoto ai</i>
	<i>Te waka!</i>
[Leader]:	Drag forth
[Group]:	The canoe!
[Leader]:	To the resting place
[Group]:	The canoe!
[Leader]:	To the sleeping place
[Group]:	The canoe!
	To the place where it will lie
	The canoe! (Kāretu 1987: 3-4).

In this image the visitors are seen as a canoe being hauled on to a safe shore. This image has obviously developed from the fact that traditionally many visiting tribal groups would have arrived by canoe. Nowadays a group of visitors may comprise a number of tribal groups so the canoe image has extended its meaning to cover any group coming on to the marae, thus by extension any collection of people with a purpose can be a canoe.

The following words come from a song composed in 1983. The canoes mentioned are a mixture of abstract concepts such as hope as well as a group of Māori, the ‘youth of today’ (Kāretu 1987: 116).

*Ka hoe nei **ngā waka***

Ko te tūmanako

O te rangatahi

Hei tāhere tikitiki

And so the canoes are paddled hence

Hope – Tūmanako

Youth – Te Rangatahi

And the ‘Bound Topknot’ – Tāhere Tikitiki (Kāretu 1987: 115-116).

The most common use of the canoe metaphor in this group of songs is to refer to the loss of leaders for the younger generation. The following song was composed in 1979 and laments the passing of elders leaving the people on the canoe looking for leaders.

Tiro kau, kimi kau, huri kau, kei whea rā koutou

Ngā kaihautū o te waka?

I look in vain, I search in vain, I turn about in vain. Where are you all

The leaders of the people? (Kāretu 1987: 69-70).

This song, composed about the same time, expresses similar sentiments and suggests that the onus is on the younger generation.

Kia tū ake au ka kī,

*Kei roto i aku ringa te kakau o **te hoe***

*Āe rānei **he waka** tīkoki nui,*

He waka** ka ū tika ki **uta

Let me rise up and say

That the paddle is firmly in my grasp.

Will it be a canoe that will flounder,

Or a canoe that will beach safely (Kāretu 1987: 65-66).

The following lament was composed in 1987 on the death of Te Rangiāniwania Rangihau, an expert in the higher forms of the Māori language. Here the concern is about the future of the canoe, the Māori language, following his death.

*Taupoki ko **te waka** ki raro*

*Ko wai hoki hei **hautū**, hei **urungi***

Hei whakapuru atu i ngā tai marangai?

The canoe is overturned,

For who is there to guide it and steer it

To weather the raging storms? (Kāretu 1991: 174-175).

The songs of the *kapa haka* group from the University of Waikato use the canoe metaphor in traditional ways to honour people and to provide a way of organising ideas throughout a song as well as to refer to Māori groups. However, the most common use has young Māori on board the canoe looking for a leader to guide them into the future. The canoe itself represents advancement in the modern world, or a political agenda such as language revitalisation.

6.6.3 The Māori Broadcast Corpus

One of the words analysed as part of the production of the MBC was the word *waka* (Boyce 2006: 149-176). Boyce noted that the word type *waka* occurred 1211 times in the corpus and was the 116th most frequent word type. *Waka* was one of the 50 most frequent content words, occurring in 207 (76%) of the 273 texts (2006: 155).

As shown in Table 6.5, Boyce found that the main use of *waka* in the MBC was to refer to various forms of transport, with the second most common use being to refer to tribes, groups and organisations.

sense of waka	% of tokens	comprising	% of tokens
transport	64.5	water transport	52.8
		land transport	8.3
		air transport	3.4
tribes & organisations	30.2	tribes	19.2
		organisations	11
other	5.3	other	4
		personal & place names	1.1
		containers	0.2

Table 6.5. Percentages of word senses of *waka* in the MBC (adapted from Boyce 2006: 162).

The transport usages are non-metaphorical so for the purposes of this analysis we will look at representative examples from the other senses of *waka*.

There are many examples in the MBC of *waka* referring to tribal groups.

Kua puta te pōwhiri a Te Taura Whiri i te Reo, kia haere mai ngā māngai mai i tēnā waka, i tēnā rohe, tēnā tū āhua mahi whakapakari e pā ana ki tō tāua reo (mbc024).

The Māori Language Commission has put out an invitation for representatives from all canoes, regions and organisations involved in strengthening our language to come here.

The word *waka* can also be used, by extension, to refer to the region a tribal group inhabits. The following quote is referring to a visit by a group of Māori traditional artists from the East Coast to share their expertise (their treasures) with another region.

Kua hoe atu ki te waka o Tainui ki te koha atu i ā rātou taonga ki Waiouru i tēnei wiki (mbc014).

They have paddled off to the Tainui canoe to donate their treasures to Waiouru this week.

We have also seen the use of the canoe metaphor to refer to Māori organisations or the Māori sector of an organisation.

Rua tekau tau a [Mea] i te ihu o te waka o te ao tēnehi Māori (mbc073).

For twenty years [Name] has been at the prow of the canoe of the Māori tennis world.

Included in the four percent of ‘other’ senses of *waka* in the MBC are some of the senses we have noted in other sources. One is the use of *waka* as a device for organising discourse in a similar way to the way that it can be used in *oriori*. In the following example the presenter weaves together the various topics by taking a canoe journey to the regions which feature in the programme.

Heke iho tonu mai te hāngai o te hoe o te waka nei, arā, ko Ngāti Kahungunu (mbc244).

The paddling of the canoe keeps heading down and there we have Ngāti Kahungunu.¹⁷²

Canoes can also be used in eulogies as the vehicle to take the spirit of the deceased back to Hawaiki.

Hokihoki, whakatā. Āpōpō, ka reti haere atu tō waka, ka whiti i te moana nei, ka whitia mai ai e ō tātou mātua (mbc116).

¹⁷² A tribe in the Hawke Bay region of the North Island of New Zealand.

Return, rest. Tomorrow, your canoe will set off and cross the sea crossed by our ancestors.

There are also examples of canoes being equated to Christian faith.

*Ki a koutou **ngā kaihautū** o **tō tātou waka whakapono**, kei waenganui i tēnei huihuinga, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou* (mbc134).

To all you leaders of our canoe of faith in this gathering, greetings, greetings to you all.

The following quote echoes some made by the informants where the Māori language is seen as having spiritual import.

*Ko te reo Māori **te waka wairua** o tēnei ao* (mbc078).

The Māori language is the spiritual vehicle of this world.

Boyce also notes another use of the canoe metaphor to express what she terms ‘unity and cooperation.’

It is likened to the idea of all being in same waka, rowing in the same direction.

It speaks of the importance of who is in charge of the waka, who is rowing it, who is steering it. The cause itself can be the *waka* (Boyce 2006: 171).

This idea reflects uses of the canoe metaphor by the informants. A good example is contained in the following quote about two sub-tribes signing a forestry accord.

*Hei roto i te tā moko a ēnei hapū, kua tata te pau o ngā hapū mai i **ngā waka e rua**, kia **eke** rātou i **runga i te waka** kotahi* (mbc025).

With the signing by these sub-tribes, they have just about given up the two canoes to get on board the one canoe.

This quote is interesting in that it uses two different versions of the canoe metaphor, a traditional and a modern one. The two canoes referred to are tribal groups while the single canoe they are getting on board is an example of a *kaupapa*, or social agenda. The use of the phrase *eke ... i runga* in the quote parallels the use of this formulaic phrase by the informants as it emphasises engagement with a particular kaupapa.

In the following example the topic is Māori broadcasting. A previous speaker has just said that the *kaupapa* under discussion is off-centre and the interviewer follows this by saying.

*Otirā, mā te tautoko i ngā whakaaro, ka ahu tōtika **tō tātou waka*** (mbc020).

However, if we support the ideas, our canoe will head in a straight line.

So again, the canoe here is a *kaupapa*, a cause or a venture with Māori on board.

The most potent *kaupapa* in recent times have been those associated with Māori self-determination. This quote comes from a discussion about a Māori health research initiative which has been devolved to a Māori group.

He tuatahi tēnei mā te Māori anō tōna waka e hoe (mbc055).

This is the first time that Māori have been able to paddle their own canoe.

The Māori Broadcast Corpus contains a wide range of uses of the canoe metaphor from traditional ones through to modern variants which echo those of the informants. Many of the quotes used here follow the idea of canoes being a *kaupapa* with Māori on board.

6.6.4 Summary

The late 20th century sources contain three main uses of metaphorical canoes.

1. There are traditional uses of canoes as discourse organising devices as well as in eulogistic references to the dead and phrases honouring the living.
2. There are also traditional uses of canoes to represent tribal and other groups.
3. Canoes can also be *kaupapa*, especially agendas associated with Māori self-determination. Māori language can be one such canoe. Māori are on board these canoes and are concerned about moving forward in the modern world.

6.7 Discussion

Formulaic phrases associated with sailing craft are not unknown in English but the senses are rather different. The most well-known English formulaic phrase which involves canoes is the phrase ‘to paddle your own canoe’¹⁷³ which is used to refer to acting independently. This expression seems to bear no relation to the Māori uses of the canoe metaphor which often imply participation as part of a group.

Another English phrase which implies the presence of a canoe is ‘up the creek without a paddle’, which refers to being in trouble. Phrases which feature boats include the expression ‘don’t rock the boat’ meaning ‘don’t upset the status quo’, and ‘we’re all in the same boat’¹⁷⁴ meaning ‘we’re all in the same situation.’ The only similarity these phrases have with the use of the canoe metaphor by the informants is that they imply that there are others on board the boat.

The use of the canoe metaphor by Māori is a positive expression of the journey metaphor. This contrasts with the negative associations of nautical metaphors in English which were noted in an analysis of metaphors used by people talking about their careers. The most common phrases employed by the informants in that study conveyed negative feelings and ‘frequent references to the importance of not rocking the boat for fear of the consequences, the experience of floundering, being channelled by others, treading water, coasting helplessly, being caught or trapped on hooks, bailing out and even drowning’ (El-Sawad 2005: 34).

This evidence, combined with the lack of canoe imagery in the Bible, clearly indicates that the canoe metaphor, as used by the informants in the present study, is wholly indigenous.

It was also significant that the canoe metaphor was the only one that the informants did not use in English, thus confirming that it was a metaphor with origins in the Māori language. An indication of the potency of this metaphor is that part of the sense has been transferred into New Zealand English. The word *waka* has been part of New Zealand English since the 19th century but in reference to physical canoes only. Since the late 1990s the idea of *waka* being an organisation or an agenda has entered New Zealand English, particularly through the phrases *waka-jumping* and *waka-jumper*. These phrases came into New Zealand English in the late 1990s through events surrounding members of parliament leaving one political party to join another.

¹⁷³ This expression is American with the earliest citation being 1828. See Mieder 2004 and <http://www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/277050.html>.

¹⁷⁴ This English expression derives from a Latin proverbial expression ‘in eadem es navi’ which has ‘been traced back to a letter by Cicero from 53 B.C.’ (Mieder 2004: 201).

An analysis of the Fairfax Media newspaper archive computer database reveals 86 tokens of *waka-jumping* in their various newspapers between 1999 and 2006.¹⁷⁵ The following example comes from member of parliament Dover Samuels commenting on internal party disputes which seem to indicate that his days in the Labour political party are limited. Here the canoe refers to the political party of which he is a member, but he also mixes this idea with the English concept of ‘walking the plank.’

I’m not a **waka jumper**, but if people don’t want me in **the waka**, they want me to **walk the plank**, then so be it (*The Press*, December 16, 2000: 1).

The analysis of the canoe metaphor in this chapter reveals its strong basis in Māori culture and tradition. Before the arrival of the European the idea of canoes had been used in sung poetry and proverbs to refer to people both individually and in tribal groups. This idea was rapidly expanded in the late 19th century to allow canoes to represent a wide range of groups, from New Zealand as a whole and various groupings of Māori people. This was a natural extension of the idea of canoes being able to refer to tribal groupings. The most important change to the canoe metaphor during this period was to move Māori onto the canoes and for the canoes to represent abstract ideas such as faith, law and political agendas. That is, canoes came to represent the beliefs of the group associated with the canoe.

Use of the canoe metaphor throughout the twentieth century continued both traditional and innovative uses of the *waka* imagery. The Māori renaissance advanced an agenda of Māori self-determination with Māori culture and language to the fore. Reclaiming and advancement of Māori language and identity have been a conscious investment by Māori adults and the informants in this study. This is reflected in the informants use of the formulaic phrase *eke ... ki runga* which indicates their engagement with the *kaupapa* of Māori language revitalisation, which, for them, is a personal and spiritual engagement with Māori culture.

The informants’ use of the canoe metaphor also reflects the English language adage ‘life is a voyage not a destination’ which takes the focus off the idea of destinations for canoe voyages. Rather, the informants talk about the direction their canoe is taking. Formerly, destinations for canoe voyages were important for the land was safe and the ocean held dangers.

The direction these canoes of Māori *kaupapa* are taking are seen as positive ‘ways forward’ in the modern world, with a freight of Māori culture providing essential ballast for the journey. The

¹⁷⁵ Thanks to Carolyn Davies for this information. The tokens consist of 24 of *waka jumping* and 62 of the hyphenated form *waka-jumping*.

kaupapa is that associated with *mātauranga Māori*, that is, an engagement with Māori culture in an environment created ‘by Māori, for Māori and in Māori.’ The following example links this *kaupapa* with the Tū Tangata initiatives.

The Tū Tangata canoe, launched in 1977, surges proudly forward and we must continue to hold firmly to the paddles of Te Kōhanga Reo, Maatua Whāngai and Rapu Mahi, to mention a few of the initiatives to keep ourselves going in the right direction (Couch 1984: 3).

The very Māori-based image of a canoe also provides a link with the ancestors as expressed in this excerpt from a poem by Robert Sullivan.

Waka spring from our unconscious,

The deep structure of Polynesia
to reappear in the modern world. ...

Their resurrection propels our iwi
into the new age: vehicles for a revival.

Sullivan 1999: 26

Chapter 7: *Whāngaia ki te reo* – language as food

This chapter analyses the informants' use of the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS FOOD (section 7.1) and follows this with an historical examination of the use of the source domain 'food' in a range of selected song and written sources from various time periods: early 19th century Māori sources (section 7.2), the Māori Bible (section 7.3), late 19th century Māori political writing (section 7.4), early 20th century Māori sources (section 7.5) and late 20th century Māori sources (section 7.6). The discussion in section 7.7 contextualises the findings in a wider historical and language revitalisation context.

7.1 Participants' use of the food metaphor

The second most common metaphor used by the informants conveyed the idea that the Māori language provided sustenance, that is, that the Māori language was food. Variations of this metaphor were used by sixteen of the thirty-two informants.

The newly-fluent Māori-speaking informants talked about how before learning the Māori language they were hungry, *hiakai*, *matekai*, or not being fed the language, *kāore i te whāngai atu*. In learning the language they are being fed, *whāngaihia*. Informants see the possibility of feeding others, particularly children, with the language. In this schema the informant's original diet without the language is lacking; Māori language is seen as a special food necessary to surviving in the world.

The idea of the Māori language being food underpins the concept of *kōhanga reo*, which are, literally, 'language nests.' The purpose of a real nest, as shown in Figure 7.1, is to raise baby birds. When we think of birds nests we most often envisage them full of hatchlings vigorously demanding food.



Figure 7.1. Drawing by Dick Frizzell (Martin 1987: 6-7).

Similarly *kōhanga reo*, a ‘language nest’, is a place where hungry young children are fed the language.

It is well recognised that food held an important place in Māori society, being ‘a resource of both spiritual and commercial importance’ (M. Jackson 1993: 71). Thus it is not surprising that these newly-fluent speakers of Māori would use food as a metaphorical device. However, while this metaphor was evoked through the concepts of being hungry and being fed, the Māori language was never directly described as food, *kai*. The food metaphor was mainly expressed in the Māori language, but two informants used it on one occasion each when speaking English.

7.1.1 Being hungry

Four informants used the food metaphor to talk about ‘being hungry’ before they learnt the Māori language. In expressing this idea they used either of two Māori words for hunger: *hiakai* and *matekai*, the former being used on three occasions and latter twice. The English word *hungry* was also used on one occasion.

In the following quote Hēmi is talking about how he did not learn Māori while at secondary school.

*Kāore i te **hiakai** ana mō te reo* (Hēmi).

I wasn’t hungry for the language.

When the informants began to learn Māori several talked about a ‘hunger’ for learning the language. This sentiment is expressed in the following quote where Bub uses both *hiakai* and *matekai* to explain and emphasise why she is learning Māori.

*Nā te mea, tino **hiakai**, tino **matekai** au te akona te reo* (Bub).

Because I’m really hungry, really ravenous to learn the language.

Similarly Stu talks about how he and another informant, Karihi, felt when they started being involved in a Māori culture and language programme.

*I te tino **hiakai** māua mō te reo* (Stu).

He and I were really hungry for the language.

Rachael expressed the same idea in English when talking about the motivation levels of her Māori language students.

People out there are so **hungry** for it (Rachael).

7.1.1.1 Words for hunger

There are three main words in Māori which can be used to refer to hunger: *hiakai*, *matekai* and *hemokai*. This section will give a brief overview of the use of these words in 19th century and modern sources.

As noted, amongst the informants *hiakai* was the most frequently used word for hunger, closely followed by the word *matekai*. This preference is reinforced by an examination of words for ‘hunger’ in early Māori written sources which revealed that *hiakai*¹⁷⁶ was the preferred word. *Hiakai* appeared in the first (1844) and all subsequent editions of the Williams’ dictionaries of Māori, while *hemokai* first appeared seventy years later in the fourth edition (W. L. Williams 1915) and *matekai* in the fifth edition (H. W. Williams 1917). This does not mean that *hemokai* and *matekai* were not used before European arrival but their later addition to the dictionary suggests that they were not used as frequently as *hiakai*, and that *hiakai* was the preferred word for ‘hunger.’ As shown in Table 7.1 this finding is supported by an analysis of the three words in Ngata and Te Hurinui’s *Ngā mōteatea* series¹⁷⁷ and Grey’s *Ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna* (1971). Neither of these sources have examples of *hemokai* and *matekai* whereas *hiakai* appears once in *Ngā mahi a ngā tūpuna* and three times in *Ngā mōteatea*.

	dates	hemokai	hiakai	matekai
Grey and Ngata	mainly 19 th C	-	4	-
Māori newspapers	1842-1932	40	206	23
Māori proverbs	mainly 19 th C	2	2	1
Māori Bible	1850s ¹⁷⁸	51	26	73
mbc	1995-6	-	11	13

Table 7.1. Frequencies of Māori words for ‘hunger’ in a range of 19th & 20th century sources.

Evidence from the Māori newspapers, most produced in the second half of the 19th century shows an unequivocal preference for *hiakai*. The preference in the Māori Bible for both *matekai* and *hemokai* over *hiakai* runs counter to other early sources but can perhaps be explained by the fact that the Bible was written by non-Māori. The most modern corpus, the MBC, has few examples of words for hunger, and almost equally divided between *hiakai* and *matekai*.

¹⁷⁶ *Hiakai* is a compound of *hia* which means ‘to desire’ and *kai* which means ‘food’, so literally ‘desirous of food’, thus ‘hungry.’ *Hemokai* is a compound of *hemo* which means ‘to be faint’ and *kai* which means ‘food’, so literally ‘to be faint for want of food’, thus ‘hungry.’ *Matekai* is a compound of *mate*, one meaning of which is ‘to desire’ and *kai* which means ‘food’, so literally ‘desirous of food’, thus ‘hungry.’

¹⁷⁷ A. T. Ngata 1972, and A. T. Ngata and Te Hurinui 1961 and 1980.

¹⁷⁸ While this data is from the 1950 edition, a check with an 1852 New Testament found the occurrences of *hiakai* and *matekai* were the same in both editions.

While there is no straightforward pattern throughout time for preferences between these three Māori words for hunger, it is reasonably clear that *hemokai* is the least used and, in general, that *hiakai* is the most favoured word.

7.1.2 Being fed

The most productive word used by the informants to express the language as food metaphor was the Māori verb *whāngai* ‘to feed.’ This word, or one of its variants, was used metaphorically 33 times by 12 of the informants.

The word *whāngai* also has a related meaning ‘to nourish, bring up’, hence the phrase *matua whāngai* meaning ‘foster parent.’ It seems clear that this meaning is a metaphorical extension of the meaning ‘to feed’, since a foster parent is one who takes over the responsibilities of feeding and raising the child.

When examining texts where the word *whāngai* is used it is sometimes difficult to distinguish whether the meaning refers to raising a child or feeding a child language or culture. A good example of this is shown in the following quote where Piringākau is talking about how his father was fostered by grandparents during the Second World War. It is quite clear that on the first two occasions that he uses the word *whāngai* that he is referring to fostering. However, the third time the word is used, the meaning could refer to either fostering or to his father being fed with language and culture.

He whāngai taku pāpā ki tētahi atu whānau, ki ngā koroua, ki ngā kuia e mōhiotia ana i te reo me ōna tikanga. Ā, koirā te waimarie hoki a taku pāpā. ... Ko ngā kuia, ko ngā koroua i whāngai i a ia. Ehara ko ōna mātua (Piringākau).
My father was fostered to another family, to the male and female elders who knew the [Māori] language and its customs. And, that’s how my father was lucky. ... It was the female and male elders who fostered/fed him. Not his parents.

It would seem that the speaker may in fact be using the polysemy of the word *whāngai* to refer to both meanings simultaneously.

The informants used the verb *whāngai* in a range of verbal and nominal constructions and did not employ formulaic phrases in expressing this metaphor as they did with the other metaphors. The most frequent collocation of the word *whāngai* was the phrase *ki te whāngai* which was used on 8 out of 33 occasions by the informants. On 26 occasions the verb appeared in the form *whāngai*,

with three variant passive forms being used: *whāngaihia* (4), *whāngaitia* (2) and *whāngaia* (1). Accordingly, there were no clear preferences for the type of construction the word was used in.

Informants used the word *whāngai* to convey three aspects of ‘feeding’:

1. not being ‘fed’ the language at an early stage in life (5 examples).
2. being ‘fed’ the language at some point (7 examples).
3. ‘feeding’ the language to children or others (21 examples).

Informants used the idea of not being ‘fed’ the language to explain how their generation did not grow up as native speakers.

Engari, kāore ngā koroua i te whāngai atu. Koirā te raru (Hōhepa).

But, the elders didn’t feed it. That’s the problem.

Some informants had one or more parent who was brought up to speak Māori, but who did not pass the language on to them.

I mōhio ia ki te kōrero. Engari, kāore ia i whāngai mai ki a mātou (Hōhepa).

She knew how to speak [the Māori language]. But she didn’t feed it to us.

One informant had a mother who initially spoke some Māori at home when they were growing up.

Ā, kātahi ka mimiti haere tōna kaha ki te whāngai atu ki a mātou i roto i te reo rangatira (Awanui).

And then, her strength at feeding us in the chiefly language gradually diminished.

As well as ‘not being fed’, informants also talked about the circumstances under which they came to be fed the Māori language. Two informants found that school-based *kapa haka* (Māori performing arts) programmes kindled their desire to learn Māori.

Koinā te take e kī au nā te kapa haka anō au i whāngai (Lovey).

That’s the reason why I say that it was *kapa haka* which fed me.

Several informants paid tribute to teachers at various institutions who had taught them the Māori language.

I taku tīmatanga atu kāore kau he reo, nō reira nā aku kaiako i whāngaihia mai tērā reo me ō rātou āhuatanga, ngā tikanga, ngā mea katoa (Amīria).

When I started I didn’t have any language, so because of my teachers who fed that language and their aspects, the customs, everything.

One informant paid particular tribute to tribal elders who had taught him Māori.

*Koirā taku wawata. Kia hoki anō ki ngā koroua i **whāngaihia** aua mātauranga ki ahau kia whakahokia te koha ki a rātou* (Piringākau).

That's my dream. To go back again to the elders who fed that knowledge to me so the gift can be returned to them.

Several informants expressed the idea that involvement in Māori language immersion situations had a spiritual dimension. Here Peter is talking about what had prompted him to participate in the *wānanga reo* he was attending.

*E hiahia ana au ki te haere mai nei ki te **whāngai** i tōku wairua i ngā maunga, i te moana, i te wāhi nei, ngā tāngata* (Peter).

I want to come here to feed my spirit with the mountains, the sea, this place, the people.

Linking spiritual ideas with the *kaupapa* of learning and speaking the Māori language was also found when the informants used other metaphors such as canoes and paths.

7.1.3 Feeding others

The most frequent use of the LANGUAGE IS FOOD metaphor by the informants was to refer to 'feeding' the language to others, particularly their own children and also to school children, since many of the informants were teachers.¹⁷⁹

Several informants spoke about raising their children in a Māori language environment. In this case both Hōhepa and his wife are Māori speakers.

*Nō reira, i tēnei wā ka **whāngaia** atu* (Hōhepa).

So at this time we are feeding it out.

Similarly, Piringākau is passing on his knowledge of Māori to his young son.

*Anā, kātahi anō kei te **whāngai** au i te reo* (Piringākau).

And so I have just started to feed [him] the language.

However, many of the informants had a spouse who could not speak Māori, leaving them to single-handedly provide a Māori language home environment.

*Nā reira, ko au anahe te mea **whāngai** ana tā māua kōtiro* (Poutini).

¹⁷⁹ Eighteen of the thirty-two informants were teachers or teacher trainees at the time they were interviewed.

Therefore, I am the only one feeding our daughter.

Sometimes the flow of language can be reversed, as shown in this quote from Lovey who noted that she sometimes learnt Māori from her son who brought new vocabulary home from school.

*Wētahi wā nāna anō au i **whāngai** wētahi kupu hou* (Lovey).

Sometimes it's he who feeds me some new words.

Informants saw their involvement with the Māori language as a very personal one, primarily benefitting them, and only benefitting others as a secondary, flow on effect, by means of their roles as parents and teachers.

*Kei te whai ahau i te reo mōku anō oh ki te **whāngai** hoki pea ki ngā tamariki i te kāinga, i te kura rānei* (David).

I am following the language for myself, oh, and maybe also to feed it to children at home or in school.

Karihi expressed the same idea in English.

You think, gee, you just want the best, eh, for yourself, I mean, it's gotta start with yourself, and then **feed** out to others you know. I know, I'd like my nieces and nephews to go to through the kōhanga and the kura, and stuff like that, 'cos I can see how good it is (Karihi).

Besides talking about their role as parents many of the informants were teachers or teacher trainees and they often employed the LANGUAGE IS FOOD metaphor to talk about their role in Māori immersion education.

*Koirā taku kaupapa, ko te **whāngai**, ko te whakaako i te reo Māori ki a rātou* (Amīria).

That's my *kaupapa*: to feed and teach the Māori language to them.

Piringākau felt that there were great benefits in Māori immersion education which raised the performance and expectations of the younger generation of Māori children.

*Engari, kia āta **whāngaihia** aua tamariki ka kitea, oh, kei te piki haere, kei te kake haere* (Piringākau).

But, when those children are carefully fed you can see, oh, they are climbing, ascending.

One informant also talked about how he spoke Māori to friends to encourage their use of the language.

Ka hoki ki te kāinga rā, ka kōrero i ngā mahi o te rā. ‘Oh, i ako au i tēnei mea’, ā, ka whāngaitia ki aku hoa (Hōhepa).

When I go back home I talk about everyday events. ‘Oh, I learnt this,’ and I feed it to my friends.

7.1.3.1 Constructions using *whāngai*

It is necessary at this point to make some comments about how the verb *whāngai* is used by informants. Competent speakers of Māori will have noticed that some of the informants are using this verb in a way that they would feel is ‘ungrammatical.’ As already noted in section 3.3.1 ‘ungrammaticalities’ have not been corrected, or commented on up to this point. This is for two reasons. Firstly, the number of such features is relatively small and does not, for the most part, affect the key words in this study. Secondly, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to make a thorough analysis of changes to the grammatical structure of the Māori language. However, since the word *whāngai* is a key word in the analysis of use of the food metaphor in Māori, and there are several consistent patterns of difference in the way *whāngai* has been traditionally used with the way it was used by the informants, it seems appropriate to make a brief analysis of these changes.

Traditionally the verb *whāngai* is regarded as a transitive verb. It is listed as such in the Williams’ dictionary (H. W. Williams 1971: 488) and Bauer’s grammar (1997: 13). This means that in active sentences ‘the agent is the subject ... and the patient is the object ... and thus marked with *i*’ (Harlow 2001: 29). Accordingly an active sentence with *whāngai* would take the following form with the particle *i* introducing the direct object (DO).

1. *[Kei te whāngai]_{PRED} [a Rewi]_{SUBJ} [i ngā heihei]_{OBJ}*¹⁸⁰
Rewi is feeding the hens.

Sentences based around the verb *whāngai* can also include a phrase indicating an instrument, that is, what food is being fed. The instrument phrase is introduced by the versatile particle *ki*.

2. *[Kei te whāngai]_{PRED} [a Rewi]_{SUBJ} [i ngā heihei]_{OBJ} [ki te kānga]_{COMMENT/INSTRUMENT}.*
Rewi is feeding the hens with corn.

This format of *i* introducing the DO and *ki* to introduce the instrument phrase was preferred by 19th century speakers, as shown in this example from 1908.

¹⁸⁰ This format for explaining the sentence structure is as per Harlow 2001: 4.

3. *Kia tūpato te whāngai i te tūroro ki te rongoa (Pīpīwharaua, 117, 4).*

Be careful feeding the patient with medicine.

It is common for the second language learners in this study to produce sentences where the object phrase is introduced with *ki* and an instrument phrase is introduced with *i*. Accordingly we have the following example:

4. *... ki te whāngai atu ki a mātou i roto i te reo rangatira.*

... at feeding us in the chiefly language.

Thus the informants are preferring this construction:

5. *Kei te whāngai a Rewi i te reo ki ahau.*

Rewi is feeding the language to me.

Rather than,

6. *Kei te whāngai a Rewi i ahau ki te reo.*

Rewi is feeding me with the language.

However, it is uncommon for the informants to generate sentences which contain both an object and an instrument phrase. Nevertheless, even if only one of the two phrases is present the preference for using *ki* to introduce object phrases and *i* to introduce instrument phrases persists.

7. *... ki te whāngai hoki pea ki ngā tamariki.*

... maybe also to feed the children.

8. *Kei te whāngai au i te reo.*

I am feeding [him] the language.

In preferring this format for sentences with *whāngai*, speakers are following a ‘ditransitive’ sentence pattern (Bauer 1997: 41-42) which is used with ‘a small number of verbs, the meaning of which involves some sort of transfer, like giving, showing or telling’ (Harlow 2001: 165). With these verbs the DO is introduced with *i* and the indirect object/recipient constituent is introduced with *ki*. The ditransitive sentence pattern also appears with the verb *whāngai* in modern Māori language textbooks.

9. *Ka whāngai a Tai i te kānga ki ngā poaka me ngā manu.*

Tai fed the corn to the pigs and the birds (Moorfield 2001a: 45).

Whāngai is not the only verb being affected by this change. One of the sentences produced by an informant uses the transitive verb *whakaako*, to teach, in apposition to *whāngai*.

10. *Koirā taku kaupapa, ko te **whāngai**, ko te whakaako i te reo Māori ki a rātou*
(Amīria).

That's my purpose: to feed and teach the Māori language to them.

Harlow notes in his grammar that *whakaako* can introduce its objects in either a traditionally transitive way or following the ditransitive model and gives examples of both (2001: 123-124).

7.1.4 Summary

The LANGUAGE IS FOOD metaphor was the second most frequently used metaphor employed by the informants to describe their relationship with the Māori language. They used this metaphor both in Māori and, on one occasion, in English. The two main words used referred either to hunger (*hiakai* and *matekai*) or being fed (various forms of the word *whāngai*). Language was not directly referred to as food (*kai*). Unlike the other metaphors used by the informants formulaic phrases were not involved with the use of the food metaphor.

Use of this metaphor enabled informants to describe an initial state of being without the heritage language (being hungry or not being fed), then an engagement with the language (being fed) and an ongoing relationship with the language (feeding the language to others). The most common way this metaphor was used was to describe feeding the language to children, both in the home and school environments.

7.2 Early 19th century Māori sources

Food and eating played an important role in traditional Māori society, being more than sustenance to satisfy bodily needs. As noted by Firth (1972: 322) ‘food represented potential hospitality, economic control, reputation, and social power’ and so, unsurprisingly, ‘metaphorical expressions relating to cooking and eating were among the commonest types of metaphor the Māori used’ (J. Smith 1974-5: 36-7).

Many early Pākehā explorers noted that although Māori largely lived on a subsistence diet, inter-tribal *hui* (meetings) featured lavish provision of food. For example, Figure 7.2 is a drawing of a mammoth stage erected for a special feast, with food for various groups being placed on different levels of the temporary structure.

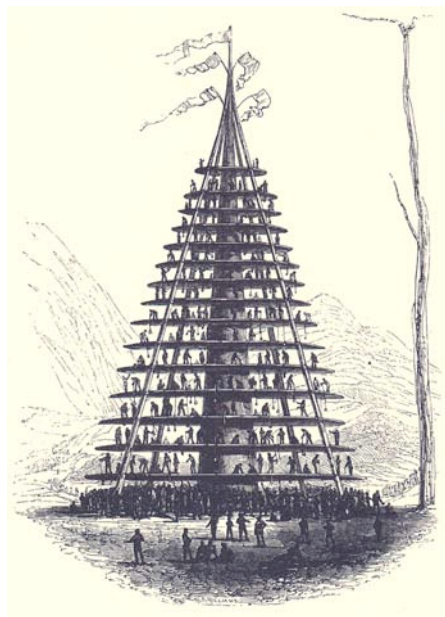


Figure 7.2. ‘A Stage erected for a New Zealand Feast’ (Yate 1970: 139).

Nineteenth century Māori accounts often make special mention of the quantity and variety of foodstuffs provided at various tribal gatherings. The following example is from Mohi Tūrei Tangaroapeau’s account of his wife’s death in 1876.

E toru ngā tino rā i hui katoa ai te iwi ki te tangi, me te whakaputa anō i ā rātou kupu poroporoaki mō te nui o te tūpāpaku, me tana mahi atawhai ki te iwi, me tōna aroha ki te tangata. He nui anō te kai, te kūmara, te parareka, te parāoa, te pihiketi, te huka, te hipi, te poaka.

The ‘crying’ continued for three days, with shoutings of grief and farewell to the departed on account of her popularity, and her generosity and love to the people. Abundance of food was provided in the shape of kūmaras, potatoes, flour, biscuit, sugar, mutton, and pork (*Te Waka Māori o Niu Tirani*, 12b(5), 54-55).

The listing of the food in this letter helped to show both how important the deceased was and the extent of hospitality that was shown on the occasion.

Within Māoridom today it is still important for hosts to provide hospitality (*manaaki*) to guests, with the quantity and quality of food being the most important aspect of this hospitality. The success of gatherings, whether on marae or in more European settings, is still largely judged on the food provided, with delicacies such as various seafoods and muttonbirds being particularly valued. Failure to provide such *manaaki* in proper measure reflects badly on the *mana* (standing) of the hosts.

In this section we will examine some of the uses of food metaphors from some of the earliest Māori writings in the form of sung poetry (sections 7.2.1 to 7.2.3) and proverbs (section 7.2.4). The basic concept behind most of the imagery employed is that ‘to cook and eat something was to conquer it’ (J. Smith 1974: 36). This is different to how the image is employed by the informants but, as we shall see, there are a few similarities to be found.

7.2.1 **Waiata aroha**

Waiata aroha were almost universally composed by women and food imagery was used to convey one of the most central themes of such poetry: that the composer had been badly treated. Such imagery could draw on ideas of raw and cooked food as well as the bitterness and sweetness of food. However, because these concepts are not employed by the informants in this study these aspects will not be discussed.¹⁸¹

Other images of food and eating are used in two main ways in *waiata aroha*. In the first, the woman describes herself as being ‘eaten’ by love. Here the word *kai* is used in its verbal form.

*Kāore te aroha e **kai** koe i ahau!*

Alas for the longing that consumes [eats] me! (Song 47: 1).¹⁸²

However, more common is the second image in which the woman describes herself as food that has been either eaten or thrown away by her husband or lover (Orbell 1977: 180). Here the composer laments about being the subject of gossip.

***He tuhanga kai** au ki waenga te marae!*

I am food that is shared out on the marae! (Song 56: 9).

¹⁸¹ See Orbell 1977: 176-177 and 182-188 respectively for a discussion on raw and cooked and bitterness and sweetness in *waiata aroha*.

¹⁸² All the references in this section are to Orbell 1977.

Thus, there is very little here in common with the use of food metaphors by the informants. The following provides the closest example to the way the informants use the food metaphor. Here the poet has been lamenting the gossip about her which has spread far and wide.

E hika mā, me pēwhea rā te huna ia rā kia ngaro?

*Me **kai** tonu au ki te hau ki tōku tāne, i hotua e roto hai!*

Friends, by what means can I hide, and be lost?

Let me feed always on the wind from my husband, for whom I sigh within *hai*!

(Song 43: 6-7).

‘Wind’ that blows from a direction connected with a loved one is associated with that person, thus the composer here is making a statement about how important her husband is to her. By remembering her husband in a positive way, as someone who can provide her with sustenance, the food here, unlike the other examples in *waiata aroha*, is positive and beneficial.

Overall, food images in *waiata aroha* are far removed from that used by the informants. Firstly, although the informants employ food metaphors, the word for food, *kai*, is not used by them. This is in direct contrast to *waiata aroha* where this very image is precisely the one employed. The contrast is reinforced by the fact that the key words used by the informants, that is, words for hunger (*hiakai* and *matekai*)¹⁸³ and feeding (*whāngai*) are not used at all either in the 100 *waiata aroha* studied by Orbell or in Ngata and Te Hurinui’s publications. In addition, the main concept behind the use of food in *waiata aroha* is one of defeat. Either the poet herself is being consumed by love (which therefore puts her in a weakened position) or she is being consumed by others, either her lover, or as the subject of gossip.

7.2.2 Oriori

Words for hunger did not appear in the *oriori* in the Ngata and Te Hurinui *mōteatea* series¹⁸⁴ However there were four uses of forms of the word *whāngai*, the most common being the passive form, *whāngaia*. Each example was used to convey different ideas.

One of the conventional ideas conveyed in lullabies is to refer to the high status of the child through honorific images. In the following section the poet wishes the young child, a girl, to be fed food reserved for chiefs. This food will aid her on her travels around the regions associated with her relatives.

¹⁸³ The word *hemokai* also did not occur in Orbell’s selection of *waiata aroha*.

¹⁸⁴ In this and the following section the references are to A. T. Ngata 1972 and A. T. Ngata and Te Hurinui 1961 and 1980.

*Anā, e koro! auaka e **whāngaia** ki te umu nui, **whā-**
Ngaia iho rā ki te umu ki tahaki, hai
 Te pongi matapō hei katamu māhana, ki-
 A ora ai hine takawhaki atu ana ngā
 Moka one rā i roto o Punaruku, tē,
 Do not, O sir, give her food from the common earth-oven,
 But feed her from the oven reserved for her kind,
 With the dark-fleshed taro, that she may chew with relish,
 And be sustained, when presently in her roaming
 She comes to the small stretches of beach inside Punaruku (Song 1: 12-16).*

Thus the reference to food here is both literal and figurative. In its figurative sense relatives are called on to provide succour to help assure the child of success in the world.

The following *oriori* includes words to comfort a hungry child. Although the words *hiakai* or *matekai* are not used the sentiment is evoked through the idea of ‘crying for food’.

*E tama, e tangi nei ki **te kai** māhau,
 Kāore **he kai** hei **whāngainga** māku i a koe;
 O son, crying for your food,
 I have no food to give you (Song 270: 27-28).¹⁸⁵*

While this image appears literal, the circumstances behind this song show that it also has a figurative meaning. The song was composed by a woman called Te Ao Tārewa who, having no children, fashioned a child from wood. ‘The old woman then nursed her child of wood on her lap, and she then sang her lullaby’ (A. T. Ngata & Te Hurinui 1980: 327). Therefore the reference to not being able to feed the child does not merely reflect a lack of food, but that, because the child is wooden, there is no suitable food with which to feed such a creature. Thus this image is employed to remind us of the fact that the child is not human.

The following example is of the most interest as the word *whāngai* is used to refer to the feeding of cultural food for the mind. Thus the food mentioned here has no literal referent.

*E hika, ē, i **whāngaia** tāua
 Ki **te kai** o tawhiti,
 Ki te pūrākau, ki te tuku toperu,
 Nā Rawaki rā.*

¹⁸⁵ See also the famous *oriori* ‘Pō, pō’ (Song 145, A. T. Ngata & Te Hurinui 1961: 152-161).

A loved one, we both were fed
 With the food of distant lands,
 With ancient legends, and the male ritual
 Of Rawaki, no less (Song 190: 11-14).

In summary, the *oriori* studied here provide no examples of words for hunger and only a few using variants of the word *whāngai*. There is one example which equates food with knowledge.

7.2.3 Waiata tangi

The *waiata tangi* in Ngata and Te Hurinui's books contain examples of the use of both *hiakai* and variants of *whāngai*.

There are only three examples of the word *hiakai* being used in *waiata tangi*. The theme of the following *waiata tangi* is unusual in that it is a lament for a plantation whose crop has been decimated by pukeko.¹⁸⁶

Ngaro noa atu koe, e te kai,
Māku e tangi ki kuru, ki Kakau-ā-rangi,
Ki taku toki hei whakahoki mai
Te hiakai, ei
 Now you have vanished, O food,
 Let me cry piteously for the prized Kakau-a-rangi,
 That axe of mine, which will bring back
 The appetite for food (Song 271: 5-8).

The use of *hiakai* in this situation seems more literal than figurative. In another example the word *hiakai* is used to refer to the circumstances that occasioned the death of the individual.

He hiakai hapū kia tomo atu koe
Ki a Whakatau-roa,
 'Tis a desire for the tasty shark that urges you
 to enter into Whakatau-roa (Song 287: 9-10).

The word *whāngai* is used in a range of ways. One was to indicate the prestigious heritage of the deceased. In this case only the most delectable morsels are suitable food on the journey of the dead. Like the similar example given in the *oriori* section, this food is associated with a journey: here it is to the afterworld.

¹⁸⁶ Native swamp hen.

*Me **whāngai** koe ki te ika kai apuapunga ki te moana,*
Kia haratua, kia inu ake koe te wai o te korio,
 You shall be fed with the delicious fish of the sea
 Eat in comfort, then drink from the water (Song 127: 90-91).

This excerpt from a lament for Te Matapihi-o-Rehua from Te Arawa follows lines which refer to his ancestors accompanying him on death's journey.

Whakawhiti atu ana i Te-Raho-o-te-Rangipiere,
*Kia **whāngaia** koe ki te tauaro kūkū*
Nō Te-Ranga-a-whakairihau, e tama ē!
 Crossing over at Te Raho-o-te-Rangipiere,
 Where you will be fed with the fat portion of the pigeon
 From Te Ranga-a-whakairihau, O son! (Song 128: 29-31).

In the following example, the vulnerability of the deceased is reflected in the idea of him now being food. In other words, the deceased has been consumed by death, a similar image to that expressed in *waiata aroha*.

Kia kai mai te ika ki a koe,
*Ka tiri atu tō **whāngai**, ko angiangi ki te whakarua, ē,*
 Now 'tis the fish who will feed upon you,
 For you have been portioned out as food by the easterly breeze (Song 258: 6-7).

As many men died in battle, for this was an honourable death, there are a number of references to the deceased being eaten by Uenuku, an ancestral figure associated with war.

*Ka **whāngaia** koe ki runga te ahurewa*
*Ka **kai** Uenuku, ē rā!*
 You are now left exposed on top the sacred altar,
 And there to be consumed by Uenuku, alas! (Song 61: 13-14).

Similarly, the following example.

Me ko Uenuku rā,
*He atua **kai** tangata ia nā ī.*
 Seemingly 'tis none other than Uenuku,
 The god that consumes mankind, alas, ah me. (Song 274: 86-87).

Again, like *waiata aroha*, the idea of being consumed is associated with defeat.

The following quote is the one which has most similarity with the way the food metaphor is used by the informants. It is from a famous lament for Peehi Tū-kōrehu from Ngāti Maniapoto who died by drowning in 1836. Notes to the song explain that the titbits from ancient times refers 'to the teachings of the sacred house of learning' (A. T. Ngata & Hurinui 1980: 365).

Hare rā, e tama!

Me te mūmū, me te āwhā, me te apiapi.

*Nāku koe i **whāngai***

Ki te mānga o tawhiti

*Nāku koe i **whāngai***

Ki te Aitanga-a-Tariu-one.

Farewell, O son!

Forever boisterous and stormy amongst the throng.

It was I who fed you

With titbits of the food from ancient times;

It was I who fed you

With the Progeny of Tariu-one (Song 277a: 5-10).

Thus we have the idea that knowledge can be fed to people, presaging the idea that the Māori language can be similar sort of 'food with links to ancient times' for modern day second language learners of Māori.

In summary, most of the food images associated with *waiata tangi* conform to the main conventions of the genre. There are examples where food is included in phrases designed to honour the dead person, and also examples which are used to provide references to the circumstances of the death. There is but one example where food and feeding is associated with ancient knowledge.

7.2.4 Proverbs

A glance through the index for Mead and Grove's *Ngā pēpeha a ngā tīpuna* (2001) shows that food is one of the most productive images used in Māori proverbs, along with birds, trees and warfare.¹⁸⁷ Firth (1926a: 142) notes that 'the food-quest was the most important economic undertaking of the Māori in pre-European times ... so it is but natural to find that many proverbs, - altogether some hundreds in number, - have reference to the means of subsistence'. Food imagery is used to comment on a range of topics, from food production, quality and scarcity,

¹⁸⁷ There are 105 separate references in the index to Mead and Grove's book under *food*, 67 under *hospitality* and 65 others under various food items.

through to aspects of human consumption such as gluttony and food wastage. Despite the large number of proverbs concerned with food and its consumption very few have direct relevance to the way that food metaphors are used by the informants.

7.2.4.1 Food

Not surprisingly, most of the proverbs relating to food feature the word *kai*, food. The following proverb refers to the fact that the first human arrivals to New Zealand brought not only themselves but several food varieties, such as kūmara, which were not endemic to the country.

I kune mai i Hawaiki i te kune kai, te kune tangata.

It sprang forth here from Hawaiki, the seed of food and the seed of people (886).

Food sources in New Zealand could often be unreliable, hence the following example ‘of the prime importance accorded to the struggle for subsistence’ (Mead & Grove 2001: 403).

Tohea, ko te tohe o te kai.

Be strenuous, persevere as in the struggle for food (2529).

There are proverbs referring to lack of food.

E tika e te moe, ko koe rawa hei kai.

It is accepted, O sleep, that you must do for food (248).

Accordingly, surfeit of food was acclaimed.

Tino kai, tina¹⁸⁸ ora te kōpū.

Plenty of food and the stomach is well-satisfied (2515).

The following proverb about the need for warriors to be well fed can be applied to the need for proper preparation for any major undertaking.

Mā te kai e ora ai te tinana, e hinga ai te hoariri.

By food the body is sustained and the enemy defeated (1770).

Food is implicit in the following well-known proverb which is used to extol the virtue of co-operation.

Nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka ora [te] manuhiri; nāu te rākau, nāku te rākau, ka mate te hoariri.

By your food basket and mine the guests will be satisfied with food; by your weapon and mine the enemy will be destroyed (1981).

¹⁸⁸ This is a misspelling of *tino* (see, for example Brougham, Reed and Kāretu 1999: 81).

Māori often drew on aspects of the natural world to comment on aspects of the human condition. A number of food related proverbs follow this format, such as this proverb which refers to the benefits associated with earning one's own living.

He kai kei aku ringaringa.

Food at my hands (446).

The following three proverbs use the idea of food in ways close to the use of the food metaphor by the informants. In each, the food mentioned is not literal food for the body, but food for the mind. The following proverb is printed in a longer version in Mead and Grove, but it is the first part, reproduced here, or a variant thereof, which is usually quoted.

Tā te rangatira tāna kai he kōrero ...

The chief's sustenance is discussion ... (2243).

The most usual translation given for this proverb is the more literal 'the food of chiefs is oratory' and refers to the well-known Māori love of oratory. Excellence in this endeavour signifies the epitome of erudition in Māori society. The following two proverbs both equate food with knowledge.

He ao te rangi ka uhia, he kai te whare wānanga ka tōroa.

As clouds deck the heaven, so food prolongs the wānanga (353).

Mead and Grove explain that 'the food of knowledge leads to extended sessions of the whare wānanga, the house of learning' (2001: 65).

Another well-known modern Māori proverb which does not appear in Mead and Groves' collection is often cited at contemporary events in educational institutions. It includes the common Māori conceit of using birds to represent humans in their endeavours. In such representations the conceit usually involved a favourable comparison (Krupa 1996: 18).

Te manu e kai i te miro, nōna te ngahere,

Te manu e kai i te mātauranga, nōna te ao.

The bird who feeds from the miro tree owns the forest,

The bird who feeds on knowledge owns the world.

Because this proverb is not included in standard proverb collections it is presumably of modern origin.

7.2.4.2 Hunger

There were only four proverbs in Mead and Grove's collection which used words for hunger. The following proverb is rather similar in meaning to the English sentiment 'you don't know what you've got till it's gone.' In other words, you only complain about something you do not have.

*He **hemokai** ka puta tēnei kupu, he mihi ki **te hemokai**.*

Famished people say they lament or grieve from hunger (380).

The following proverb warns against living in a spot where you might be prevailed upon by numerous passing visitors who will deplete your food stocks.

*Kei whakaekea tōu kāinga e Te Whānau ā [sic] **Te Hiakai**.*

Beware that your village is not attacked by the Family of Hunger (1267).

This proverb is similar to the idea in English of 'tightening your belt' when hungry or suffering for want of ready cash.

*Tātua **hiakai** o Te Aorangi.*

The hunger belt of Te Aorangi (2246).

The final proverb is a warning against idleness.

*Tama tū, Tama ora; Tama noho, Tama **matekai**.*

The working person flourishes; the idle one suffers hunger pangs (2214).

All of these proverbs which use words for hunger are rather literal, in that they comment on common situations which arise from, or can lead to, want of food, a situation which is obviously to be avoided. None of these proverbs refer to a more metaphysical hunger for something intangible like knowledge or spiritual direction.

7.2.4.3 Being fed

There are a handful of proverbs in the Mead and Grove collection which use variants of the word *whāngai*. The two examples cited here both exemplify the idea that being fed with a special food will lead to a positive outcome.

The following proverb is one that can be used to complement someone on the favourable circumstances of their birth which have enabled them to achieve great outcomes.

*E kī ana ahau, i **whāngaia** koe ki te nene o te tāmure o Whangāpanui, kia tiu koe, kia oha.*

I think that you were fed on the *nene*¹⁸⁹ of the snapper of Whangāpanui so that you might be active and strong (126).

This proverb concerns the fact that wives may marry again if their husband dies, so if a man wants someone to remember and mourn him after his death he should keep a good relationship with his sisters.

Whāngaia *tā tāua tuahine, he tangi i a tāua.*

Let us nurture our little sister so that she may mourn us (2657).

Food, hunger and feeding are very productive in Māori proverbs and arise from the natural condition of traditional subsistence living. Most of these proverbs are literal, and are based on the importance of food in Māori society. Some of these proverbs can also be applied, by analogy, to other aspects of human endeavour. There are a small number of proverbs which use the idea of food in a similar way to the way it is used by the informants, and in these proverbs food for the body is equated to food for the mind. However, in contrast to phrases used by the informants, these proverbs focus on the word *kai* rather than the word *whāngai* or words for hunger.

7.2.5 Summary

While food is used as a source domain for metaphor in the early 19th century Māori sources studied here there are few examples which parallel the way food images are used by the informants. The early sources tend to favour the use of the word *kai*, food, a word which does not explicitly feature in the quotes from the informants. Words for hunger seldom appear in the early sources and there are but a few examples of the word *whāngai* or its variants.

Food images in *waiata aroha* and *waiata tangi* centre on the idea of either being consumed by love or death respectively. Images of food also appear in the typical honorific images contained in *oriori* and *waiata tangi*. While food is a particularly productive source domain for proverbs most do not use the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD as used by the informants. Nevertheless, there were a small number of examples where knowledge, particularly ancient knowledge, was described as food for the mind, paralleling the informants' use of the idea that the Māori language is food for their minds.

¹⁸⁹ *Nene* = base of the tongue, a delicacy fed only to distinguished warriors.

7.3 The Māori Bible

Charteris-Black's analysis of a sample of books from the Old and New Testament¹⁹⁰ found that metaphors about food and drink were one of the four most productive source domains in the Bible (2004: 182). Charteris-Black noted that the use of food as a source domain was based around the conceptual metaphor that SPIRITUAL NEEDS ARE PHYSICAL NEEDS, as demonstrated in the following Psalm.

Ka mākona tōku wairua, anā i te hinu wheua, i te ngako, ā ka hari ōku ngutu ina whakamoemiti tōku māngai ki a koe (Ngā Waiata 65: 3).

My soul will be satisfied as with the richest of foods; with singing lips my mouth will praise you (Psalm 65: 3).

There are a number of very central food metaphors in both the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. One such example comes from the book of Exodus where there is a description of the forty years that the tribes of Israel wandered in the desert after they escaped from Egypt. While in the desert they gained sustenance from a food provided by God, a food called manna, which appeared miraculously every morning and was said to taste like honey (Exodus 16). While the food provided was literal, also contained in this image is the idea that God is the provider of all forms of sustenance.

The most well-known New Testament example of the food metaphor is contained in the account of a miracle which is mentioned in all four New Testament gospels.¹⁹¹ This miracle is variously called 'feeding the multitude' or 'the miracle of the loaves and the fishes.' The story tells how thousands of people came to hear Jesus preach and afterwards Jesus realised there was not enough food to feed them.

*Nā ka mea ia ki te mano kia noho ki runga i te tarutaru, ka mau i ngā taro e rima, i ngā ika hoki e rua, ka titiro ki runga ki te rangi, ka whakapai, ka whawhati, ā hoatu ana e ia ngā taro ki ngā ākonga, ā nā ngā ākonga ki te mano. Ā, **kai** katoa ana rātou, ā ka mākona: ā kotahi tekau mā rua ngā kete i kohia ake e rātou, kī tonu i ngā whatiwhatinga i toe (Matiu 14: 19-20).*

And he directed the people to sit down on the grass. Taking the five loaves and the two fish and looking up to heaven, he gave thanks and broke the loaves. Then he gave them to the disciples, and the disciples gave them to the people. They all ate and were satisfied, and the disciples picked up twelve basketfuls of broken pieces that were left over (Matthew 14: 19-20).

¹⁹⁰ Charteris-Black analysed the Old Testament books of Job and the first 100 Psalms and the New Testament books of Matthew and John.

¹⁹¹ See Matthew 14: 13–21, Mark 6: 31–44, Luke 9: 10–17 and John 6: 5–15.

Again, like the example of God and manna from heaven, Jesus is literally providing food for his followers. However the ‘feeding of the masses’ can also be seen figuratively, in that in preaching to them, which was the purpose of the gathering, Jesus was also providing food for their souls.

This idea of spiritual food culminates in the most important part of the Christian liturgy, the ritual of communion, where the events of the Last Supper are remembered through the sharing of bread and wine by believers. In this ritual the bread represents the body of Christ and the wine, Christ’s blood. The communion ritual reminds Christians of Jesus’ sacrifice of his own life as a propitiation for sin. Thus Jesus is spoken of as the bread of life, that is, the food that will give us eternal life.

*Ka mea a Ihu ki a rātou, ‘Ko ahau te taro o te ora: ki te haere mai tētahi ki ahau, e kore rawa ia e **hiakai**; ki te whakapono hoki tētahi ki ahau, e kore rawa ia e **matewai**’ (Hoani 6: 35).*

Then Jesus declared, ‘I am the bread of life. He who comes to me will never go hungry, and he who believes in me will never be thirsty’ (John 6: 35).

This verse is telling us that you have to feed on Jesus, partake of Jesus, to live in both this world and the next. Thus the symbolism of hunger, food and feeding is one of the main bases of the Christian experience.

Ideas contained in the use of the food metaphor in the Old Testament have been taken and extended by Jesus in the New Testament. In the Old Testament the provision of spiritual food was provided by God to the righteous, while in the New Testament Jesus himself becomes the food of life. This is similar to the extension Jesus made of the path metaphor, which, in the Old Testament was a road taken by the righteous through following God’s precepts, while in the New Testament Jesus himself became the path (I am the way and the truth and the life ... (John 14: 6)).

7.3.1 Being hungry

Results of an analysis of the whole of the Old and New Testaments for use of Māori words for hunger are shown in Table 7.2. All three Māori words for hunger are used in the Old Testament but *hemokai* does not appear in the New Testament.

	Old Testament	New Testament	Total
hemokai	51	-	51
hiakai	6	20	26
matekai	59	14	73
Totals	116	34	150

Table 7.2. Number of occurrences of various words for hunger in the Māori Bible.

Not all of these examples will be metaphoric but the results show that *matekai* was the word most commonly used to render the idea of hunger, and that *hiakai*, which we found was particularly favoured by other early Māori texts, is, in fact the least common variant.

Many of the verses in the Old Testament books analysed here¹⁹² that mention hunger or being fed often sound rather literal, such as in the following verse which promises earthly provision for righteous followers of God.

*E kore rātou e whakamā i te wā o te hē, ka mākona anō rātou i ngā rā o te
hemokai* (Ngā Waiata 37: 19).

In times of disaster they will not wither; in days of famine they will enjoy plenty
(Psalm 37: 19).

However, a figurative meaning is closely associated with such sentiments, as shown in the following verse.

*E whakamākonatia ana hoki e ia te wairua hiahia: ko te wairua hiakai,
whakakā ana e ia ki te pai* (Ngā Waiata 107: 9).

For he satisfies the thirsty and fills the hungry with good things (Psalm 107: 9).

In the selected Old and New Testament texts there were several examples of verses which included both a Māori word for hunger and a variant of *whāngai*, such as the following verse from the Psalms.

*E tohe nei i te whakawā a te hunga e tūkinotia ana: e whāngai nei i te hunga
mate hiakai: ko Ihowa hei wewete i ngā herehere* (Ngā Waiata 146: 7).

He upholds the cause of the oppressed and gives food to the hungry. The LORD
sets prisoners free (Psalm 146: 7).

As mentioned earlier, New Testament verses often take Old Testament ideas and make them even more figurative. This section of Jesus' teaching seems to allude to a much earlier food miracle, that of the manna that was provided as food at the time of Moses.

Ka koa te hunga e hiakai ana, e hiainu ana, ki te tika: e mākona hoki rātou
(Matiu 5: 6).

Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they will be filled
(Matthew 5: 6).

This verse makes explicit the idea that the hunger being talked about is a spiritual one.

¹⁹² In the following analysis 'Old Testament texts' is taken to mean Job and the Psalms and 'New Testament texts' to mean Matthew and John.

7.3.2 Being fed

There are 77 occurrences of variants of the word *whāngai* in the whole of the Old Testament, and 23 in the New Testament. Many are literal and based around the secondary meaning of *whāngai* concerning raising and taking care of the young. This idea is carried through to the idea of a shepherd tending his sheep. In this Old Testament verse David is being given instructions from God. David's people, the Israelites, are seen as sheep and David as their shepherd.

*Whakaorangia tāu iwi, manaakitia tōu kainga tupu: **whāngainga** rātou, whakaarahia ake ake* (Ngā Waiata 28: 9).

Save your people and bless your inheritance; be their shepherd and carry them forever (Psalm 28: 9).

Here, the English phrase 'be their shepherd' is translated into Māori as *whāngainga rātou*, which can be literally translated as 'feed them.'

Again, this idea is carried through to the New Testament and Jesus' teachings. After the crucifixion and resurrection Jesus appears to his disciples on several occasions. On one of these occasions Jesus questions Simon Peter about his loyalty and commitment to carry the message of Jesus throughout the land. Jesus concludes his questioning by telling Simon Peter to *whāngainga aku rēme*, 'feed my lambs' (John 21: 15). The sheep here have no literal referents, the lambs are those who believe in Jesus. Thus Jesus is telling Simon Peter to become a minister of the word of the Lord.

However, many of the references in the Old Testament to metaphorical food are ones in which 'there is the notion of punishment through the intake of harmful food or poison' (Charteris-Black 2004: 200). An example of this is the following Psalm.

I homai he au hei kai māku: i tōku matewaitanga anō i whakainumia ahau ki te winika (Ngā Waiata 69: 21).

They put gall in my food and gave me vinegar for my thirst (Psalm 69: 21).

In this case the believer is describing the persecution he is facing for believing in God. The bad food in this case could be literal but it is also figurative; the meaning is that only God can provide the proper spiritual food for growth and that this sort of food is not available from the unrighteous on earth.

7.3.3 Summary

The biblical use of the food metaphor parallels the use of the food metaphor by the informants in this study. The Bible makes a great deal of use of the conceptual metaphor SPIRITUAL IDEAS ARE FOOD. This type of metaphorical use of food links in well with the way the informants talk about their hunger for the Māori language.

7.4 Late 19th century Māori political writing

Sources examined in this section continue the tendency to express the food metaphor with the words *kai*, food, and *whāngai*, to feed. Words expressing hunger are rarely employed, nevertheless there are a number of examples which parallel the informants' use of the IDEAS ARE FOOD metaphor

7.4.1 Feeding birds

One of the most common ways of employing the food metaphor in the late 19th century was in reference to birds. The most frequent expression of this form of the metaphor is found in the Māori newspapers.

Of the 34 Māori newspapers printed by various government, church and Māori organisations between 1842 and 1932 six were named after birds.¹⁹³ These kinds of names allowed for use of the food metaphor by making reference to food being fed to the birds so they would have enough energy to transport information around New Zealand. In other words, the newspapers themselves were envisaged as a type of carrier pigeon in need of constant feeding. In the inaugural edition of *Te Korimako* the editor, a Pākehā Charles Davis, expressed the following sentiments.

Ko te ingoa mō tō tātou taonga, ko 'Te Korimako Rere Haere.' Ko tēnei, e koro mā, akona mai tō tātou Manu Māori, whāngaiinga hoki ki 'ngā hua o te tau' kia kaha ai tana kotete. Kei runga kei te hoka tō tātou Manu, ko ana kōrero anake e rere atu ana ki rau-whenua, ki rau-iwi; koia hoki e kiia atu nei, whakaāhurutia tēnei mōkai, kia puta ai tā tātou mahara, kia ara ai te kauwae o tēnei motu, kia tāmia iho te kino, kia whakamōiritia ko te pai.

The name for our valuable newspaper is *The Korimako*. And now, oh Sirs, teach this our Māori bird, and feed it with 'the fruits of the year,' so that it may possess sufficient energy to speak out. Our bird is on the perch; its sentiments only fly away to many lands, and many peoples, hence my request to you is, nourish this bird, by which means we shall enable ourselves to carry out our project - the advancement of this island; the dethronement of evil, and the ascendancy of good (*Te Korimako*, 1, 1-2).

In this situation 'fruits of the year' is a reference to the annual subscription needed to keep the paper in production. Correspondents to the newspapers took up this metaphor. This example is from a letter by Wī Pēwhairangi in 1893 which accompanied his annual subscription.

¹⁹³ The six newspapers whose titles allude to birds are: *Te Hōkioi*, *Te Pīhoihoi Mokemoke*, *Te Korimako*, *Te Pīpīwharuroa*, *Te Kōpara* and *Huia Tangata Kotahi* (this name literally meaning 'Unite all people' but with the masthead including huia feathers, also making reference to the huia (a native bird)).

E hoa, tērā e tukua atu e au tētahi hua rākau hei oranga mō tā tātou manu. Māu e whāngai ki tōna waha tērā atu te nui o aku kōrero (Huia Tangata Kotahi, 1(4), 6).

Dear Sir, I am sending some fruit as sustenance for our bird. Will you feed its mouth with it, that's all I have to say.

However, the following is one example where the food being fed to the birds is food for the mind and soul. In a letter written in 1859, Paikea, a chief of the Kaipara region, calls for funds to pay a stipend for a minister. The minister is described as a bird whose role is to feed its chicks (parishioners).

Kia pūmau ki te kohikohinga moni mō tō tātou minita, kia whai huruhuru ai, arā, kia whai pakau ai te manu nei, hei rere rere haere i roto i tēnei roto i Kaipara, ki te whāngai i ngā Pi e tatau nei i roto i te kōwhanga (Te Haeata, 1(2), 3).

Be constant in collecting money for our minister so that this bird might have feathers, or, in other words, wings, with which to fly around this area of Kaipara feeding his chicks sitting in the nest (Sutherland 2002: 105).

This sort of usage of the food metaphor parallels that of the informants where the food being fed refers to an abstract concept, a kind of sustenance for the mind. We will examine more examples of this in section 7.4.4.

7.4.2 The food of modernity

Engagement with government was an important facet of Māori experience in the late 19th century. Governmental laws were seen as the enactment of God's laws on earth, sentiments reinforced by government officials themselves. In correspondence with government officials, particularly the Governor himself, Māori often used familial terms such as *tō tātou matua*, our father, to describe not only the status of his role, but also emphasise that their relationship with him was one of kinship. 'Government was seen as a genealogy, stemming from God, the founding ancestor of the law, and devolved through Queen Victoria to the Governor' (Head 2001: 110) and it was a genealogy of which Māori were part. They were junior members, often describing themselves as *tama*, son, or *tamaiti aroha*, loving child, but nevertheless in an active relationship with the government.

The role of a parent is to nurture and raise the child. We have already seen in section 7.1.2 that the most common Māori word to express the concept of raising children is *whāngai*. Thus it is not surprising that Māori used the food metaphor, in the idea of a parent feeding a child, to refer

to their relationship with governmental authority. Accordingly we have the following quote, in translation, by Tura, a chief of the northern tribe Ngāpuhi. Because of their geographic location Ngāpuhi were the first tribal group to have a long term relationship with missionaries and Europeans.

Ngāpuhi has led the way in good things, we sent them on to you. Though Ngāpuhi is now a poor man, yet the Governor has **nourished** us (Buddle 1860: 49).

The basis of modernity was law, and Māori also used the food metaphor to talk about their relationship with this new system. Here a chief called Ngāwhare is enthusiastic about Fenton's explanation of the benefits of instituting courthouses and Pākehā law in his district.

Give me **milk**. **Feed** me, I am a child. Now for the first time, I am growing up to be a man (AJHR 1860: 40).

Again we see the desire for Māori to become fully-fledged members of modern society.

Another common use of the food metaphor was in reference to Christian ministers. By the 1850s Māori communities who wanted a minister in their area were asked to raise money to pay the minister. In this letter by R. Waitoa in 1857 it is the Māori community who is feeding the minister, not the other way around as in the previous example at the end of section 7.4.1.

*He kohikohi moni te tikanga o tō rātou huihui ki konei hei **whāngai** minita mā rātou (Te Karere o Pōneke, 1(12), 3).*

The purpose of their meeting here was to collect money to feed [i.e. provide for] a minister for them.

Unlike the other examples in this section, the food here refers to the idea of providing physical, rather than a more abstract sustenance.

7.4.3 The food of war

We have seen references in Māori poetry and biblical imagery to the idea that the consumption of metaphorical food can sometimes be associated with negative consequences. This negative association with eating was also used by Māori in the second half of the 19th century to refer to events surrounding the civil wars. In these quotes the government, or its officials, are seen as being parents who are not feeding their children appropriate food. An example of this comes from a translated quote from Hau Paihia in a meeting with the government official Luce in 1865.

Whom if his son ask **bread** will he give him a stone (BPP 1969: 416).

Hau Paihia's words are, in fact, a quotation from a passage in the New Testament.

Which of you, if his son asks for bread, will give him a stone? (Matthew 7: 9).¹⁹⁴

In these translated words from 1861 Tāmāti Ngāpora describes the Taranaki war as a feast.

This war was like **a feast** to which people were invited, ... those who came to help in the work or to partake of **the feast** played but a secondary part ... the guests had only to **eat** what was set before them. ... **The viands**, the duration of **the feast**, ... rested with those who planned the affair (*BPP* 1970: 30).

The linking of war with food also occurs in *waiata tangi* except that, in those situations it was people who were consumed by war while here the image is reversed and it is people who are the consumers and the food is war.

There are a number of quotes where bullets are described as food. These are the translated words from a letter written by Wiremu Kīngi in 1860.

We are here **eating** the English pebbles (bullets) (*BPP* 1970: 15).

The person who most extensively used the imagery of bullets as food is Rēnata Kawepō. Here the Queen and the Governor are referred to as *taku kōkā*, my mother, and *taku pāpā*, my father, respectively.

Tiro rawa atu nei, e, he pū he paura he matā ngā kai a taku pāpā a taku kōkā e whāngai mai rā i ērā ōna tamariki.

But when we look for the result, behold guns, powder, and ball are the food with which our father and mother are feeding those children of theirs (Kawepō 1861: 6S & 11S).

The moral message here is that the Queen and Governor, like God, from whom their whakapapa (law) descends, should exercise care and consideration with regard to their progeny.

In this further quote Kawepō employs the bird imagery we examined in section 7.4.1. Here, he aligns himself with those in Taranaki and the use of the image of defenceless nestlings with mouths wide open and waiting to feed on the appropriate food (law) are instead cruelly fed with the inappropriate 'hard food', i.e., bullets.

¹⁹⁴ The Māori version reads: *Ko tēhea tangata ianei o koutou, ina inoi tana tama ki a ia he taro, e hoatu ki a ia he kōhatu?* (Matiu 7: 9).

*Ka haere au ki Taranaki, ki te tangi ki ōku e **whāngaia** mai rā ki **te kai pakeke**; ka rite hoki au ki te pī kōkō e haere rā te matua ki te mahi kai, ka tae mai me ngā kai ka hāmama atu ngā waha o ngā tamariki ki **te kai mā rātou**.*

I shall go to Taranaki to assist (*lit.* sympathise with – *tangi*) my people who are being fed with hard food; for I am like the callow nestling of the *koko* (or *tui*) whose mother has gone to gather food, and when she returns the mouths of her offspring are opened wide to receive their nourishment (Kawepō 1861: 6S & 11S).

This final quote from Kawepō makes the image explicit. The proper food for Māori in the dispute over Waitara in Taranaki is law. Kawepō asks Queen Victoria to consider,

*Te hē o ngā mahi a tēnei Kāwana **whāngai** pū **whāngai** paura **whāngai** matā ka whakahoki atu, ka homai ai i te Kāwana **whāngai** i au ki **te kai ngāwari**, ki te rūnanga, ki te whakawā, ki te aroha, ki ngā tikanga pai.*

The fault of this Governor who feeds us with guns, powder, and ball, and recall him, and give me a Governor who will feed me with digestible food, with councils, with courts of justice, with love, and with good deeds (Kawepō 1861: 6S & 11S).

Here the more abstract, spiritual sustenance is what is required, rather than the indigestible but corporeal bullets.

7.4.4 Food for the mind

This section examines other late 19th century examples which parallel the use of the food metaphor by the informants. In section 7.4.1 we examined the images of newspapers being birds which needed feeding with money in order to survive. There are some examples from newspapers where food imagery was used, not to describe the newspaper as being fed, rather that the readers were being fed with the information contained in the newspaper. The following example is from the beginning of a long letter of biblical references written in 1903 by Hāmiora Aparoa.

*E HIKA, tēnā rā koe me tōu pūrotutanga e **whāngai** mai nā kōrua ko TE PIPI i **ngā kai riireetoo** mā ō tātou wairua.*

Friend, greetings to you with your agreeableness with which you and THE CUCKOO are feeding us the amazing foods for our souls (*Te Pīpīwharaua*, 65, 3).

Thus, the newspaper contains food (words) which will provide mental and spiritual sustenance.

The idea of spiritual sustenance is also referred to in this quote from an article published in 1898 about whether it is appropriate to play golf on Sunday.

*He wā anō mō te **whāngai** i te tinana, he wā anō mō te **whāngai** i te wairua (He Kupu Whakamārama, 18, 7).*

There is an appropriate time for feeding the body and an appropriate time for feeding the soul.

The following quote from Dr Wī Repa in 1930 is in a letter on the topic of tuberculosis. What Repa wants to do is to encourage debate on the issue and the food he is talking about is discussion.

*‘E te iwi! He **haukai** tēnei kei tō aroaro, **kainga!**’ ... Me te titiro atu anō kei te **hiakai** te hinengaro o te iwi ki te kupu kōrero (Te Toa Takitini, 106, 2099).*

‘People! There is a feast before you, tuck in!’ ... And in my observation the minds of the people are hungry for discussion.

The following quote concerns the political situation at Waitara in the Taranaki in 1860. Rapihana Te Otaota uses the food metaphor to describe Wiremu Kīngi’s situation. As with previous quotes, he employs the idea of good food and bad food. The bad food is war and the good food is peace.

*Koia au i kī ai me whakatika te kupu a Hōhepa mō Wiremu Kīngi, nō te mea hoki i roto i tēnei tāima e noho **matekai** kore ana ia, kāhore he **kai** māna, kāhore he wai mōna. Ko te **kai** mārama kua kapea e ia ki muri, ko te wai mārama kua kapea e ia ki muri; ko tēnā **kai** ināianei he uku, ko tōna wai he wai paruparu. Nō reira au i mea ai kia kawea anō he maungārongo ki a Wiremu Kīngi kia rite ai tō te Karaipiture, ‘Ki te mate **hiakai** tō hoariri me āta **whāngai**, ki te matewai ia me whakainu anō.’ Ko te **kai** hei hoatunga ko te pai anake, ko te wai me rangimārie anake.*

Therefore I say let the proposal of Hōhepa respecting William King be carried out; for at this time he is suffering from famine — he has neither food nor water. The clear food he has allowed to pass away from him, and the clear water he has allowed to pass away: the only food he has now is white clay, and the only drink he has now is muddy water. For this reason I say, let peace be offered to Wiremu Kīngi, that the command of the Scriptures may be fulfilled — ‘If thine enemy hunger, feed him: if he thirst give him drink.’¹⁹⁵ The food to be supplied to him

¹⁹⁵ This is a quote from the Bible, see Proverbs 25: 21-22 and Romans 12: 20.

is goodness, and the drink is peace (*The Māori Messenger – Ko te Karere Māori*, 7(17), 34).

The following translated words of Kereopa express his disappointment in discussions concerning the King movement.

I am not going to **feed** on talk like this. This talk is like what we heard on Saturday. I thought you were all advocates for peace (Buddle 1860: 56).

Again, talk is described as food for the mind. The final example combines the canoe and food metaphors to talk about the food on the canoe of faith. It comes from a speech by Erueti in 1859.

Tēnei au te hoe nei i tōku waka, kua huaīna e au te ingoa o tōku waka ko te Pono, ngā kai o runga ko te aroha, ko te rangimārie, ko te manawanui, ko te atawhai, ko te noho pai (Te Haeata, 1(4), 2-3).

Here I am paddling my canoe. I have given my canoe the name of Faith, and the food on board is love, peace, patience, compassion and living in peace.

7.4.5 Summary

In the writings from the late 19th century only those in section 7.4.1 provided examples which did not seem to reflect the food metaphor as used by the informants. In that section money was seen as food for birds (ministers). In this case the ‘food’ was intended to provide literal sustenance.

The examples of the use of the food metaphor in the other three sections showed similarity to how this metaphor is employed by the informants. In section 7.4.2 the quotes reflected the idea that the Pākehā system of law was food. In section 7.4.3 there were examples of war, or the bullets used in fighting war, being talked of as food. In section 7.4.4 various ‘ideas’ including peace, were seen as food for the mind. Law, war and peace are all ‘ideas’ in that they are overarching principles, abstract concepts or beliefs which shape human thought and actions, the word ‘idea’ coming from Greek and meaning ‘form’ or ‘pattern’ (Thompson 1995: 673). Thus many of the quotes in these latter sections are examples of the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD. Moreover, except in the case of war, most of these ideas are described as being good food and thus having a positive role in human existence, again paralleling how the informants view their experience with the Māori language.

7.5 Early 20th century Māori sources

There were very few examples of the use of food metaphors in the early 20th century sources studied in this section. There were no examples in Tuini Ngāwai's songs and just four in the correspondence between Sir Peter Buck and Sir Āpirana Ngata. In all instances the food being consumed is ideas and the author is Ngata.

In the following quote, written by Ngata in 1930, he passes an opinion on the work of anthropologist Felix Keesing.

He has not the style of a great writer, and suffers rather just now from **indigestion** – too much new material to classify, arrange and pass judgement on (Sorrenson 1986: 115).

This quote is the only one written in English and in referring to indigestion Ngata implies that this is caused by too much food (written material). So while the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD is at the basis of this image, the meaning is that too much food is not good.

The following quote from 1930 uses the word *kongakonga* which means scraps or fragments. Ngata is talking about securing funding for land development schemes.

Ko te wāhi i pā atu ai tāua ko ngā kongakonga taka mai i te nohanga rangatira, kei ngāwari ana te tātaka mai. Heoi te mahi he kohikohi, mā muri e kai.

The parts which affect us are the crumbs which fall from high places, while they fall easily. And so the job is to collect them up, the future will eat them up (Sorrenson 1987: 97).

The wording used here by Ngata evokes the English idea about being fed with the 'scraps from high tables', a reference to the fact that Māori development depends on the goodwill of others.

In the following quote from 1931 Ngata is talking about the monetary difficulties which beset the depression government and its effect on advancing his programme of Māori land development schemes.

Heoi māku nei he tatari ake me kore he wāhi o te hākari a te Pākehā e taka mai ki tōku aroaro.

What I have to do is wait, in case a portion of the Pākehā's gift [i.e. feast] will fall before me (Sorrenson 1987: 162).

The following quote from 1936 is the only one to use one of the words from the informant analysis. Here Ngata is talking about a new appointee to the position of Minister of Māori Affairs.

*Heoi rā māku e **whāngai** atu ngā mea kei roto i ō tātau manawa i ngā tau nei.*

But in the coming years I shall feed him with those things which are dear to our hearts (Sorrenson 1988: 207).

These ‘things’ are ideas, theories, philosophies, and approaches, thus using the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD.

Like quotes in many of the previous sections the words employed by Ngata to render the food metaphor do not include any relating to hunger.

Though the number of examples of food metaphors in the early 20th century sources studied here are few in number they are all examples of the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE FOOD.

7.6 Late 20th century Māori sources

There are numerous examples of the food metaphor in late 20th century Māori sources and most often the metaphor is conveyed either by the word *kai* or variants of the word *whāngai*. The word *hiakai* appears in quotes from the MBC. In these examples various forms of knowledge are described as food, and often that knowledge is associated with the elders. The Māori language is also described as food, with the bulk of these examples coming from the MBC. Māori language and Māori culture are also described as special sorts of food which are needed for survival in urban environments.

7.6.1 Writing about Māori identity and the Māori language

There are a number of examples in the sources analysed in this section where the food metaphor is used, both in English and Māori, to refer to abstract concepts such as knowledge and identity as well as to refer to the Māori language. The examples in English all use forms of the verb ‘to feed.’ In three of the four quotes the food being fed is knowledge. The first example is describing how a Māori woman was raised by her elders.

The old people took her away and they looked after and **fed** her the treasures of their knowledge (Te Awekōtuku 1993: 293).

As in many other examples we have studied this knowledge is associated with elders. The following example is similar, except that in the context of Te Ātaarangi teaching the knowledge being talked about is the Māori language.

Te Ātaarangi tutors are expected to **feed** knowledge to their students (L. T. Smith 1990: 66).

In the following quote the author is criticising the mysticism associated with unauthorised tribal accounts.

There are a lot of lives and a lot of cultural identity **fed** with inadequate and wrongly based knowledge in the meantime (O'Regan 1993: 167).

The quote contains the idea that knowledge can feed one's cultural identity in both positive and negative ways. It is the only quote in this section where feeding has a negative association.

These quotes above have similar features to the way the food metaphor is used by the informants in that knowledge of the Māori language also feeds their cultural identity as a Māori. In all these cases what is being fed are abstract concepts. Similarly for the four quotes in Māori. All are from contexts which relate to Māori language teaching. The first two quotes come from a

publication written by former students and teachers at Te Kupenga o te Mātauranga, Māori Studies Department at Palmerston North College of Education. The frontispiece to the publication contains an adage which indicates that the contents of the book are to be seen as food for the soul.

*Hei **kai** mā te kanohi, **kai** mā te hinengaro, **kai** mā te rawakore e* (Goulton-Fitzgerald & Christensen 1996: frontispiece).

As food for the eyes, fare for the mind, and provisions for the poor.

Students who were taught at this institution went on to become teachers, often in Māori immersion classes and schools. One student used the food metaphor to express her appreciation to those who taught her.

*Nā tō koutou kaha ki te **whāngai** mai i ngā ākonga pēnei i ahau nei, ka puta **ngā hua** mō te ao Māori* (Mullen 1996: 85).

Your strength at feeding students like me has borne fruits for Māori society.

The final two quotes explicitly use the word *whāngai* to refer to the Māori language. Here Tīmoti Kāretu is defining what he understands a bilingual person to be.

*Ko te hunga e tino rite ana te matatau ki tō te hunga i **whāngaia** mai ki taua reo* (Kāretu 2000: 83).

They are the people who are most similar in fluency to those people who were fed with that language.

The idea of people being ‘fed with the language’ refers to people being raised as native speakers of the Māori language.

In the following quote the food metaphor is used as part of a statement emphasising the importance of the home environment in language regeneration.

*Engari kia ora ai te reo mō ake tonu atu, me kaua tātau e waiho mā TKR, te KKM mā e **whāngai** ā tātau tamariki* (Waho 1996: 83).

But for the language to survive forever we can’t leave it up to kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori to feed our children.

As with the previous example, this quote carries connotations of the children being raised as native speakers.

In summary, all the quotes in this section are variants of either the English word *feed* or the Māori word *whāngai*, and in all of them the metaphorical food being fed is something abstract such as knowledge, identity, ideas or the Māori language.

7.6.2 The songs of Dean Hapeta

There were no examples of the use of the food metaphor in the songs of Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato, and just two examples from the songs of Dean Hapeta.

Hapeta's rap lyrics typically flit from one idea to another, nevertheless there are two examples of the use of the word *kai*, food, to refer to spiritual sustenance. The first example explicitly attributes the food to a spiritual source.

He aha te pūtake o te takakawe o roto i te iwi

He kai mō te oranga ira-Atua ('Te hiringa').

What is it in the will of a People

A sustenance [food] of survival truly divine ('Mauri – the sustenance') (Te Kupu 2000).

The second example is from the same set of songs, the Māori name of which ('Te Hiringa') carries with it some association with implantation (see section 8.2.2). The name of the English track equates the word *mauri*¹⁹⁶ with sustenance.

He aha te mea ka hurupā

He kai mō te wairua angi ('Te hiringa').

What is it that which survives

Which nourishes my spirit alive ('Mauri – the sustenance') (Te Kupu 2000).

Here the word *kai*, food, is described as nourishment for the mind.

7.6.3 The Māori Broadcast Corpus

An examination of the MBC for uses of the food metaphor showed the metaphor being expressed through the use of words relating to food, as well as the word *hiakai* and variants of the word *whāngai*. Nevertheless, paralleling the informants' use of this metaphor, the food metaphor was most often evoked in the MBC through the use of variants of the word *whāngai*.

¹⁹⁶ The word *mauri* has a contested meaning. Williams (H. W. Williams 1971: 197) defines it as 'life principle', and this is the widespread contemporary meaning. However, the origins of this definition can be attributed to amateur anthropologist Elsdon Best (see Holman 2007: 330-376 for a discussion of Best's influence on the currently accepted meaning of this word).

Also notable was the fact that although the word *matekai* featured 13 times in the corpus it was never used metaphorically while *hiakai* was used metaphorically on 7 of the 11 occasions it occurred. This is in contrast to the informants' data where both *hiakai* and *matekai* were used in production of the food metaphor. Two main ideas were conveyed by use of the food metaphor in the MBC: either knowledge or language was seen as a food.

7.6.3.1 Knowledge is food

There are a number of examples, mostly centering around the use of the word *whāngai* where various types of knowledge are described as being 'fed' to people. Sometimes this knowledge has no particular relationship to Māori society, as demonstrated in the following example concerning the panelbeating skills of a group of teachers.

Ā, kei a rātou ngā mātauranga, ka whāngai mai ki ngā, ki ngā tauira nei
(mbc125).

And they have the knowledge to feed the, to feed these students.

There were a number of examples where the knowledge being talked about related to the Māori immersion curriculum. In the first example the speaker describes her role of teaching assessment skills to teachers.

Me ngā, ngā mātauranga, hei whāngai atu, ā, ki ngā kaiako o te wā kāinga hei
poipoi ai i a rātou (mbc235).

And the, the knowledge to be fed out, and to the teachers at home to encourage them.

In the following example the food is the school syllabus which is explicitly linked to both kaupapa Māori and the Māori language.

Whāngaihia atu te marautanga mā te kaupapa Māori, mā te reo Māori
(mbc167).

Feed out the syllabus through kaupapa Māori and the Māori language.

The final example links a particular set of knowledge to the elders. Here the speaker is talking about Rangimārie Hetet, an expert in Māori weaving skills, whose knowledge has been passed down to her through the generations.

Ko ia kei te whāngai atu i ōna mōhiotanga ki ngā mahi raranga ki tana whānau
(mbc272).

She is feeding out her knowledge of weaving to her family.

7.6.3.2 Language is food

There were a number of examples where the Māori language was described as a food. In the first excerpt the speaker is referring to the founding idea of *kōhanga reo*, that is, that young children will learn Māori from being exposed to the language every day.

*Kei te whakarongo au ki te whakataukī e kī nei, mai i ngā kuia, **kainga ngā kai**. He aha **ngā kai rā**? Ko ngā kōrero. Engari anō te **whāngaihangā** ngaungauhia **ngā kai** kia reka. Kia reka rā anō, ka hoatu. Ka **whāngai** atu ki ngā *kōhungahunga* kia ora tātou (mbc232).*

I am listening to the proverb which says, from the old women, eat your food. What is that food? It's speech. But the food is fed as pap to make it more digestible. When it's digestible then it's given out. It's fed to the youngsters so they will flourish.

The 'pap' here refers to the type of simple language that one uses to talk to young children.

The following example uses the word *kongakonga*, fragments, as well as a variant of the word *whāngai*.

***Whāngaingia** atu, **he kongakonga** noa iho e **whāngaingia** atu ana ki a rātou, ka matatau rātou i roto i te reo i runga i tā rātou ake kaha, ki te, te rapu i te reo (mbc167).*

[The language] is fed to them, but it's just fragments that are fed to them, and their fluency with the language depends on their perseverance to search for the language.

In this example the member of a band which sings songs written in Māori explains the philosophy behind the band. The word *kīnaki*, relish, is used.

*Ā, ko te kaupapa tuatahi, ā, kia **whāngai** te reo Māori. I whakaaro mātou kia tito i ngā waiata Māori, ā, kia whakanui, kia whakaora anō tō tātou reo, ā, hei **kīnaki** hoki mā ngā tamariki i roto i te *kōhanga reo*, ngā kura kaupapa, ngā *whare wānanga*, me kī, ngā tāngata katoa e **hiakai** ana ki ngā waiata Māori (mbc228).*

And, the first principle is to feed the Māori language. We decided to compose Māori songs to celebrate and revitalise our language, as a relish for the children inside the *kōhanga reo*, kura kaupapa and universities, let's say, for all people who are hungry for Māori song.

Kīnaki, while being able to literally refer to a relish eaten with food, is also figuratively applied to songs, so that the song traditionally sung at the end of a formal speech is commonly referred to as a *kīnaki* in that it is an appropriate and delightful accompaniment.

There were also three examples of the formulaic phrase *hei whāngai (atu) (particle/s) (i) [determiner] reo*, to feed out the language, in the MBC. The following example comes from a comment made on the occasion of opening a new *kōhanga reo*.

*He huarahi anō tēnei hei hīkoi, hei **whāngai i te reo**, nē, me ōna tikanga*
(mbc053).

This is another path to walk, to feed the language, eh, and its customs.

A variant of this formulaic phrase substitutes *ki te* for *hei* with no change in meaning.

Ka nui te mihi atu ki a koutou i tō koutou kaha, tō koutou manawa nui, ... ki te
***whāngai** atu hoki i te reo ki a rātou* (mbc177).

Many greetings to all of you for your strength and patience ... to feed out the language to them.

Although there was no formulaic phrase associated with the use of *whāngai* by the informants the phrase *ki te whāngai* came closest. There were no examples of *hei whāngai* amongst the informants.

There were three examples of phrases of the form *whāngai [+passive ending] ki te reo*, to be fed with the language, the *ki* introducing an instrument phrase, as discussed in section 7.1.3.1.

*Engari, ka pēhea kē ngā māhita ako ai i ēnei tauira e **hiakai** nei kia **whāngaihia***
ki te reo? (mbc236).

But, what about the teachers teaching the students who are hungry to be fed with the language?

However, in most situations the verb *whāngai* was used in a ditransitive sentence so that the particle *ki* was used to introduce what would normally be the direct object. The context for this next quote concerns the necessity for students who wish to teach in Māori immersion settings to acquire a solid grounding in the language at this particular teacher training institution.

I te tuatahi, me āta ako anō ā mātou tauira ki konei, kia mōhio ai ki te reo hei
***whāngai** atu ki ngā mokopuna* (mbc125).

Firstly, our students should really learn here so that they know the language to feed out to the grandchildren.

Another example of this construction is provided in the following quote which uses a passive form of *whāngai*.

Ko tētehi o ngā taonga nui ko te reo ake o Ngāi Tahu, he taonga e whāngaihia nei e te rōpū reo rumaki ki te iwi whānui (mbc154).

One of the biggest treasures is the original language of Ngāi Tahu, a treasure which is being fed by the immersion group to the wider tribe.

The final example shows the use of the particle *iho*, downwards, to talk about feeding the Māori language to children.

Arā te reo hei whāngai iho ki ā tātou tamariki (mbc258).

That is the language to feed down to our children.

7.6.4 Other Māori sources

There were a few uses of the food metaphor in other Māori sources. The following two examples are from a television documentary which screened in 2006. In both cases the speaker is Tīmoti Kāretu. In the first excerpt he is talking about how he goes about increasing the proficiency of a Māori language learner.

Ko tāku kē he whāngai atu te kupu ki a koe kia nui ai ngā kupu ka taea e koe te whakamahi, kia nui ai ngā rerenga kōrero ka taea e koe te whakamahi (Kāretu, in Epiha 2006).

What I do is to feed out a word to you to increase your working vocabulary, and to increase the sentence constructions you can produce.

In the following quote Kāretu describes what he is looking for in a student.

Ko te pūkenga tino matua pea o roto i Te Panekiretanga ko te hiakai ki te reo, tino hiakai ki te reo.

Probably the main skill in Te Panekiretanga¹⁹⁷ is a hunger for the language, a real hunger for the language.

In these two examples Kāretu uses *whāngai* and *hiakai* to express the food metaphor in relation to the Māori language. Another example is provided by the intro to a weekday five minute Māori language segment on Radio New Zealand National. Entitled *He Rourou* (Food Basket), the intro consists of the following wording with the word *rourou* referring to a woven food basket.

¹⁹⁷ Te Panekiretanga o Te Reo Māori (The Institute of Excellence in the Māori Language). For more information see section 2.4.1.

*Mauria mai tō rourou hei whāngai i a tātou katoa kia oho ake te wairua ki tēnei taonga, te reo.*¹⁹⁸

Bring us your food basket to feed us all so that one's spirit can awaken to this treasure, the language.

The wording implies that the 'food' is the Māori language which the audience is about to partake of. The wording echoes the first part of a famous proverb about co-operation which we examined in section 7.2.4.1, and which is repeated here:

Nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka ora [te] manuhiri; nāu te rākau, nāku te rākau, ka mate te hoariri.

By your food basket and mine the guests will be satisfied with food; by your weapon and mine the enemy will be destroyed (Mead & Grove 2001: 319).

In all these examples Māori language is described as food. There were also examples of related food images. In his analysis on metaphors of culture Sissons (1992) noted that the metaphor 'culture is food' was 'regularly employed in discussions of Māori education and problems experienced by young Māori' (1992: 26). As an example Sissons gives the following quote:

Economic doors must be unlocked and the cultural knowledge of Māoritanga passed on if **hungry** generations are to be **fed** (Department of Māori Affairs 1984: 3).

This quote is a good example of Puketapu's philosophy (see section 2.3) which guided the Department of Māori Affairs at this time. In a radical departure from the 'deficit theory' of the 1960s Māori culture is seen as necessary sustenance in the new world.

The importance that Māori identity had for those living in urban environments has a long history as the following quote demonstrates. Here Pōtiki talks about his involvement with the Wellington-based Māori culture group Ngāti Pōneke during the 1930s and 1940s.

Monday nights then became very, very rewarding nights for young people **starved** of Māoriness (P. Pōtiki 2001: 80).

The quotes in this section show how both Māori language and Māori culture are seen as important food, especially in surviving in the urban environment.

¹⁹⁸ Some programmes are available at <http://www.radionz.co.nz/nr/programmes/herourou>.

7.6.5 Summary

Amongst the informants the food metaphor was the second most frequent metaphor used to describe their relationship with the Māori language. This metaphor did not occur very frequently in some of the late 20th century sources studied here, except for perhaps the MBC. Nevertheless, the examples here are consistent and parallel the way the informants have used the metaphor. The only difference is the use in this section of the word *kai* and other words for food which were not used by the informants. Otherwise, both *whāngai* and its variants, as well as *hiakai* were used to talk about aspects of Māori culture and language as being important sustenance. This food was also associated with the past, usually identified in the form of elders, and also with one's identity as Māori.

7.7 Discussion

The conceptual metaphors IDEAS ARE FOOD and LEARNING IS EATING have been well studied (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 46-47). Both are based around our understanding of the mind as a body, and in order to introduce ideas into our mind it is natural to turn to the concept of eating which is a way for us to take things into our bodies. Thus in using the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS FOOD the second language speaking Māori informants see the Māori language as something that can be taken into and made part of their bodies and minds.

The food metaphor was the second most frequently occurring metaphor that the informants used to discuss their relationship with the Māori language. The metaphor was most often realised through use of Māori words for hunger and feeding. We have seen how food has always played an important part in Māori culture and that food was a very common source domain, especially for proverbs. However the concepts being expressed were rarely similar to those used by the informants; there were few examples where 'ideas' of any sort were seen as food. This concept seems to have been introduced to the Māori mind through the Bible where spiritual ideas were often described as food. Late 19th century political writing seemed to fuse the biblical association of spiritual ideas with food with the important role of food in Māori society, the result being varied target domains (law, war, peace and knowledge) being described as food for the mind.

Although, in general, there were few 20th century examples in the sources studied of Māori using food as a source domain, there were a number of examples in the MBC which paralleled those produced by the informants. Māori culture and language were seen as important sustenance associated with elders and one's identity as Māori.

We can apply Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1970) to the idea of language as food. As noted in section 2.2, Maslow's hierarchy notes that unmet physiological needs, such as the need for food, water, air and heat have more impact on behaviour than safety, belongingness, esteem and self-actualisation needs. While language needs usually fall into either the safety or belongingness categories, what is interesting about the LANGUAGE IS FOOD metaphor is that it metaphorically moves language down into the most basic of needs categories. That is, in using this metaphor people are stating very categorically how important language is to them – it could not be higher, in that physiological needs must be satiated before all others (Maslow 1970: 36).

The idea of one's indigenous language being some sort of food, especially a spiritual food, also features in descriptions of Native American languages, with Littlebear (1990: 8) seeing 'our native languages nurturing our spirits and hearts and the English language as sustenance for our

bodies.’ The dichotomy here is plain: a knowledge of English will help provide literal food for our tables, but a knowledge of a heritage language provides food for the soul. The result of being so fed is a feeling of completeness and health. Walters (quoted in Wallace 1996: 106) feels that ‘the ability to speak language is critical to being whole and well.’ As Mieder (2005: 174) comments in a discussion of the biblical quote ‘man does not live by bread alone’ that ‘people need spiritual ‘food’ in addition to basic nutrients and materialistic possessions.’ It is clear that in the Māori situation, as with other indigenous languages, a spiritual dimension is involved.

Food metaphors are also associated with education. Cortazzi and Jin noted that the food metaphor was the second most frequent metaphor used by teacher trainees to talk about how they envisioned teaching (1999: 163). Obviously the second language informants in this study have learnt the Māori language through, mostly formal, teaching situations, and many of the informants are themselves involved as teachers. Accordingly their use of the food metaphor may also be partly explained by a link with the use of this metaphor in teaching situations. The following quote by a Māori commentator links learning with the food metaphor through the use of the word ‘nourishing.’

The right education experiences will be nourishing, healing and will open one up to one’s potential (Royal 2002: 34).

The idea of fulfilling one’s potential evokes the self-actualisation level on Maslow’s hierarchy of needs. The Māori language is seen by the newly-fluent informants in this study as an essential food with links to the past which will help them to be and express who they are.

Chapter 8: *Kei te tipu au* – language providing growth

This chapter analyses the informants' use of the conceptual metaphors based on the idea of growth (section 8.1) and follows this with an historical examination of the use of similar metaphors in a range of selected song and written sources from various time periods: early 19th century Māori sources (section 8.2), the Māori Bible (section 8.3), late 19th century Māori political writing (section 8.4), early 20th century Māori sources (section 8.5) and late 20th century Māori sources (section 8.6). The discussion in section 8.7 contextualises the findings in a wider historical and language revitalisation context.

8.1 Participants' use of the growth metaphor

In Chapter 7 we looked at the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS FOOD. If language provides some sort of spiritual 'food' for our bodies, then we can expect to 'grow' as a result. This linking between metaphors which talk about language as food and those which talk about growth is expressed in the following examples. In this example from 1860 a chief called Ngawhare expresses enthusiasm for the prospect of the instituting of Pākehā law in his district.

Give me **milk**. **Feed** me, I am a child. Now for the first time, I am **growing** up
to be a man (*AJHR* 1860: 40).

Likening oneself to a child 'growing' as a result of exposure to the trappings of modernity Ngawhare links food with growth.

This chapter examines how the participants use images centered on the idea of growth to discuss their involvement with the Māori language. In contrast with previous chapters informants use a range of growth related words and expressions which express not only one, but several, conceptual metaphors. Except for one occasion all examples of these metaphors were expressed in Māori.

Participants use the image of growing in three ways to talk about their relationship with the Māori language.

1. Words for grow (*tipu* and *tupu*) were used to talk about the childhood language environment they and others experienced. In this manifestation the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS AN ENVIRONMENT is evoked through a formulaic phrase which talks about people 'growing up in/inside the language.' This is the most common image associated with growth and was used by twenty of the thirty-two informants.

2. Four informants referred to the Māori language as a seed, *kākano*, which had been planted, *whakatō*, inside the learner, thus evoking the metaphor LANGUAGE IS A SEED, a variation of the IDEAS ARE PLANTS metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 47). In some case the result of the implanting of this seed led to a person ‘growing’, thus expressing the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS.
3. Informants also stated that exposure to the Māori language as an adult enabled them to grow and flower. The basis of these ideas is that LANGUAGE LEARNERS ARE PLANTS which is a variation of the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS (Goatly 1997: 43). These ideas were used by nine informants and were expressed with the words *tipu*, to grow, and *puāwai*, to flower.

Each of these three aspects will be discussed separately in the following sections.

8.1.1 Growing up in the language

A key topic of discussion with each informant was the language environment they, their siblings and their parents experienced in childhood. All thirty-two informants were second language speakers of Māori, having started to learn the language either at school or in a tertiary setting. All were too old to have grown up in the *kōhanga reo* or *kura kaupapa* Māori schooling initiatives. Some of the informants remembered hearing grandparents, or sometimes parents, speaking Māori while they were children, but such experiences were infrequent.

Instead of perhaps saying they did not hear the Māori language spoken as a child, or that their parents did not speak Māori to them they were more likely to say in Māori that they did not ‘grow up in the language.’ Twenty informants used expressions based around the word *tipu* or the variant *tupu*, to grow, when describing childhood language environments. Of course, to talk about children ‘growing up’ is quite appropriate as it is a literal application of the word ‘grow’ and children do increase in size and weight as they progress through childhood. However, it is the way these words for growth were expressed in relation to the Māori language which reveals a metaphorical association.

Many of the informants used one of two Māori words for ‘grow’ in combination with a phrase which literally means ‘in (or inside) the language.’ This phrase takes the form of *tipu/tupu* + (*particle/s*) + (*subject*) + *i* + (*roto i*) + [*det*] + *reo* + (*Māori*)¹⁹⁹ (growing up in/inside the (Māori) language). The two main variants of this formula are *tipu i roto i te reo* and *tipu i te reo* (‘to grow

¹⁹⁹ Square brackets are used to indicate obligatory items which fall into a particular word category. Round brackets indicate an optional item. A forward slash is used to indicate ‘either/or.’ Det. = determiner.

up inside the language’ and ‘to grow up in the language’). By context, *te reo*, the language, usually means the Māori language. By using an expression that emphasises that they grew up **in** a language, rather than, say **with** a language, draws on the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS AN ENVIRONMENT.

The next two sub-sections will look, respectively, in more detail at the words *tipu/tupu* and the idea of ‘in/inside the language.’

8.1.1.1 Tipu/tupu

With regards to the words used to express this metaphor informants overwhelmingly prefer the word *tipu* to the word *tupu*, with twenty informants using the former and only three using the latter. Williams’ dictionary (H. W. Williams 1971) clearly gives *tupu* as the standard form with the entry for *tipu* merely directing the dictionary user to *tupu*. While *tupu* appears in the first W. Williams’ dictionary (1844), *tipu* does not appear until the second edition in 1852 where it is glossed as ‘to grow’ and being from the ‘East Coast dialect.’ Harlow lists *tipu* as an Eastern dialect word which is one of a group of pairs of words which exhibit ‘semi-regular regional differences in vowels in certain contexts’ (1994: 107).²⁰⁰ Though there are a number of recognised dialect areas, the context in which these vowel differences occur ‘tend to be distributed on a Western v. Eastern pattern’ (Harlow 1994: 107). The boundary of the Western and Eastern dialect areas runs down the east side of the North Island with the tribal groups of Tūhoe, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu and South Island’s Ngāi Tahu being included in the Eastern dialect area (Harlow 1994: 119).²⁰¹ The northern, central and western parts of the North Island are therefore in the Western dialect area. Figures derived from the 2001 census show roughly 60% of Māori live in Western dialect areas and a similar percentage affiliate to those areas.

This demographic distribution is confirmed by an analysis of the Māori newspaper database. This database consists of texts of newspapers published in Māori from 1842 through to 1932. The database contains 3707 tokens of *tupu* compared to 1027 of *tipu*²⁰² reflecting the fact that most contributors to the newspapers come from dialect areas other than the East Coast.

²⁰⁰ Other examples of pairs which exhibit *i/u* vowel variation between Eastern and Western dialect areas are *tipuna/tupuna*, *tuturi/tuturu* and *tipa/tupa* (Harlow 1994: 107).

²⁰¹ Biggs describes the boundary as running ‘on a north-south axis through the central mountain spine and plateau and bisecting Lake Taupō’ (1989: 65-66). See Figure 3.1 for a map showing the geographical boundary between the Eastern/Western dialect areas. As Harlow notes (1979: 131) the split between Western and Eastern is representative only, as some of the western parts of the Eastern dialect area exhibit a transitional status where some, but not all, of the various Eastern dialect features appear.

²⁰² For these analyses other variants of these words such as passive forms, causatives and nominalisations were excluded. It is not expected that the addition of these forms would affect the results.

However the Māori Broadcast Corpus (MBC) which contains material broadcast in Māori in 1995 and 1996, shows a distinct preference for the word *tipu* which has 163 tokens rather than *tupu* with 93 tokens. Speakers in this corpus come from a wide range of dialect areas with no obvious predominance of speakers from the Eastern dialect area.²⁰³

The informants for this study also come from a range of tribal areas and affiliations. Twenty-two informants used either *tipu* or *tupu* in their interviews. As shown in Table 8.1 those informants with Eastern tribal affiliations were consistent in their use of the Eastern dialect form *tipu*. Although three informants with Western dialect affiliations used *tupu*, three times as many of them used the Eastern dialect form *tipu*. Only three of these informants grew up in an Eastern dialect area.

	Western	Eastern	both
<i>tipu</i>	10	7	2
<i>tupu</i>	3	-	-

Table 8.1. Informants' use of *tipu* and *tupu* variants by dialect affiliation.

Thus, our informants preference for *tipu* parallels usage in the MBC in that its use is not reflective of the tribal backgrounds or upbringing of the speakers. What appears to be happening is a tendency among modern speakers of Māori to use the word *tipu* which was previously restricted to Eastern dialect areas. This reason for this may be that two of the main Māori language textbooks from the 1970s were written by speakers from the Eastern dialect area and these books are consistent in their use of *tipu* (Waititi 1974; Kāretu 1974). Anecdotally, it is also often said that until the 1990s most of the Māori teaching profession hailed from one of the main tribes in the Eastern area, Ngāti Porou. Indeed, Harlow describes 'the teaching of Māori in schools' (1979: 130) as being one factor in synchronic dialect levelling in Māori and the case of *tipu* seems to provide evidence for this.

8.1.1.2 'In the language'

The phrases *i roto i te reo* or *i te reo* ('inside the language' and 'in the language') often appeared in formulaic phrases alongside the word *tipu/tupu*. Harlow notes that the phrase *i roto i te reo Māori* commonly occurs in modern Māori and he suggests that this follows 'the English idiom of 'speaking in a language'' so that 'many speakers of Māori use *roto* with a language name' (Harlow 2001: 25). He gives the following example:

²⁰³ Further analysis of the Māori newspaper database and the MBC would reveal the extent of the areas which used *tipu* in the 19th century and whether the use of *tipu* in the MBC features in the speech of native speakers from other tribal areas or is solely attributable to second language speakers.

Whakautua ngā pātai i roto i te reo Māori.

Answer the questions in Māori.

Harlow also offers the following equivalent:

*Whakautua ngā pātai ki te reo Māori.*²⁰⁴

The phrase *i roto i te reo X* seems to be an extension of the phrase *i te reo X* which can be used to mean ‘in the X language’ as the particle *i* can be used to introduce phrases of location. In these situations *i* can function similarly to the English word ‘in.’ The word *roto* ‘is used to refer to the space physically inside another defined space, such as a house, a room, a box’ (Harlow 2001: 24). In this way *roto* is more specific than the English word ‘in’ and is more similar to the word ‘inside.’ Bauer notes that there are ‘occasions where English uses *in*, but Māori does not use *roto*’ (1997: 227) but the example above is part of a common trend, especially for second language learners of Māori to include *roto* when the equivalent English sentence contains *in*.

There are certainly instances of both *ki te reo Māori* and *i roto i te reo Māori* as well as *i te reo Māori* being used historically to mean ‘in the Māori language.’ The results of an analysis of all three phrases in the Māori newspaper database are shown in Table 8.2. There is a clear overall trend in the Māori newspapers to prefer *ki te reo Māori* to render the words ‘in the Māori language.’ The phrase *i roto i te reo Māori* was the least used. Though many of these examples appear in Pākehā-generated editorial comment it seems reasonable to think that, to some extent, they reflect Māori usage at the time.

phrase	number ²⁰⁵
<i>ki te reo Māori</i>	100 ²⁰⁶
<i>i te reo Māori</i>	54
<i>i roto i te reo Māori</i>	36

Table 8.2. Number of variants of phrases meaning ‘in Māori’ from the Māori newspaper database website.

However, a similar analysis of phrases in the Māori Broadcast Corpus yielded the reverse results. Table 8.3 shows that the most common phrase used to say ‘in the Māori language’ was *i roto i te reo Māori* with the phrase *ki te reo Māori*²⁰⁷ hardly being used at all with this meaning.

²⁰⁴ The *ki* here introduces an instrument phrase (see Bauer 1997: 208-9, Harlow 2001: 168-9).

²⁰⁵ These figures do not include direct object phrases.

²⁰⁶ These were counted in the first 200 documents which included the phrase *ki te reo Māori*. Limitations of the search facility on the Māori newspaper database meant that it was not possible to give a final total.

²⁰⁷ An example of the use of this phrase in the early 1950s can be found in an article by Reweti Kōhere published in 1952 in which he uses *ki te reo Ingarihi* and *ki te reo Māori* to mean *in English* and *in Māori* respectively (*Te ao hou* 2: 44).

phrase	number ²⁰⁸
<i>ki te reo Māori</i>	4
<i>i te reo Māori</i>	65
<i>i roto i te reo Māori</i>	90

Table 8.3. Number of variants of phrases meaning ‘in Māori’ in the MBC.

Thus, there is evidence from the Māori newspaper database for the instrumentative phrase *ki te reo Māori* being favoured by 19th century Māori. The move to *i roto i te reo X* and *i te reo X* follows the English phrasing of doing things ‘in the X language.’ These results provide evidence for Harlow’s statement that current usage has been influenced by the English language. It seems that the phrases *i te reo* and *i roto i te reo* have become formulaic as a result of the influence of English in sentences such as the following.

I kōrero ia i te reo Māori.

I kōrero ia i roto i te reo Māori.

She spoke in the Māori language.²⁰⁹

However, when English speakers start a sentence with the words ‘I grew up’ in order to explain their childhood language environment they tend to use one of the following variants:

I grew up **speaking** English, **speaking** 2 languages, ...
 with Welsh speakers, **with** (the) English (language), ...
 in a Dutch speaking household/environment, ...

Native speakers of English do not tend to say:

I grew up **in** English, **in** the English language, ...

Thus, Māori phrases like *i tipu au i roto i te reo Māori* (I grew up inside the Māori language) which are used by the informants are not directly based on a corresponding English phrase. Instead they are using a phrase which has become formulaic in other contexts. The inclusion of the concept of insideness when talking about childhood language environment allows the speakers to emphasise that growing up with any language is to grow up in an environment which affects how one experiences and perceives the world. You do not just grow up **with** a language but **in** a whole cultural construct. Accordingly, the informants express the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS AN ENVIRONMENT.

²⁰⁸ These figures do not include direct object phrases.

²⁰⁹ Or, more colloquially, ‘she spoke in Māori.’

Of the two phrases the informants used to talk about ‘growing up in the language’ informants used *tipu i roto i te reo* 14 times and *tipu i te reo* 10 times. They used both phrases in a range of affirmative and negative sentence patterns.

A few informants were fortunate to have one or more parents who grew up speaking Māori. Awanui’s father was one.

Ahakoia kua tipu ake ia i roto i te reo, kāore i whāki atu te reo ki a mātou
(Awanui).

Although he grew up inside the language he didn’t disclose the language to us.

David had one acquaintance who was raised in a Māori language environment.

Ko [Mea] anake te mea tupu ake i te reo (David).

[Name] is the only one who has grown up in the language.

This quote from Pukeora expresses the idea that Māori language is an important part of growing up in a Māori environment.

Mena i a koe e tipu ana i te ao Māori, i te reo Māori, ko te nuinga o ō whakaaro i te reo Māori, he hōhonu te kaupapa, he hōhonu te kōrero (Pukeora).

If you were growing up in the Māori world, in the Māori language, the majority of your thoughts [would be] in the Māori language, the foundation would be deep, the words would be deep.

These words also imply that native speakers of Māori are in tune with traditional knowledge and have an enhanced spiritual outlook. In Gloria’s mind this sort of upbringing is superior.

Mena kua tipu ake i roto i te reo ngāwari tonu te rere atu i ngā kupu, te rere o te reo, mārama tonu te kite atu kua tipu pai ake (Gloria).

If you have grown up inside the language it’s so easy to produce the words, the flow of the language, and it’s clear to see you have grown up better.

Variants of *tipu*, such as *whakatipu*, to raise, can also be used in this formulaic expression. Here Te Hata is talking about helping to raise a small child.

I whakapau kaha māua tahi ki te whakatipu i a ia i roto i te reo Māori hei reo tuatahi (Te Hata).

Together we expended a lot of energy to raise her inside the Māori language as a first language.

Informants used a range of negative sentence constructions to talk about how they or others did not grow up in a Māori speaking environment. Here Rewi is talking about his wife.

Kāore ia i tipu ake i roto i te reo (Rewi).

She didn't grow up in the language.

Using a different negative construction Hāriata describes her mother's childhood.

Ehara ia i te wahine i tipu ake i te reo Māori (Hāriata).

She wasn't a woman who grew up in the Māori language.

Like many, Mandy was not taught Māori by native speakers but by proficient second language speakers.

Kāore rātou i tipu i te reo, engari he matatau (Mandy).

They didn't grow up in the language, but they were fluent.

The formulaic expression *tipu i roto i te reo* can be varied by substituting the word *reo* for another word. Here Piringākau is disappointed that he did not have the opportunity of attending *kōhanga reo* as a child.

Kāore au i tipu mai i roto i te kōhanga. Kāore he kōhanga i aua wā
(Piringākau).

I didn't grow inside the *kōhanga*. There was no *kōhanga* in those times.

The following quote makes a different substitution. Here Te Hata is talking about a friend of his.

Kāore ia i tipu ake i roto i tētahi taiao Māori, ahakoa i te mōhio ia ki te kōrero Māori (Te Hata).

She didn't grow up inside a Māori world, even though she knows how to speak Māori.

In conclusion, 'growing up **in** the Māori language' expresses the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS AN ENVIRONMENT. In Māori this phrase is derived from the English phrase 'in the X language' (*i roto i te reo Māori/i te reo Māori*) which has become formulaic in other situations and is used when people talk about their childhood language environment. The idea of 'growing up **in** the Māori language' expresses the idea that Māori language is part of a deep spiritual and cultural worldview.

8.1.2 Seeds

Four informants used the idea of a seed being implanted inside them to describe engagement with the Māori language. The informants used the words *kākano*, seed, in conjunction with *whakatō*, to plant, to convey this concept. These words were used in a number of different sentence constructions with a slight favouring amongst the small sample to the expression *whakatō i te kākano*, to plant the seed.

The word *kākano* is defined as meaning ‘seed, kernel, pip’ (H. W. Williams 1971: 94). There is also another Māori word for seed, *purapura*, and both appear to traditionally have literal and metaphorical applications. In their literal form seeds are associated with cultivation, but although pre-contact Māori did grow food crops, the main two, kūmara and taro, were raised from tubers, not seeds. The only crop traditionally cultivated by Māori from seeds was gourds. Though the forest yielded berries in season, there were no native trees which provided seeds of a sufficient size and nutritional value to be a regular food source. Thus the pre-contact Māori experience of seeds was limited.

Metaphorically seeds were equated to people as shown in the following passage originally published in 1853.

Ko ngā tāngata anake o runga i a Te Arawa, ngā kākano i ruia ai ki te whenua, ā, toro ana ngā kīwei, me ngā peka o taua kāwai ki runga, ki raro, puta noa ki te Wai Pounamu, ki Ngāpuhi hoki (Grey 1853: lxviii).²¹⁰

As for the people on board Te Arawa, the seeds were scattered onto the land and the shoots and the branches of that lineage reached out to north and south through to the South Island and to Ngāpuhi as well.

This use of *kākano* echoes an archaic meaning of the English word ‘seed’ where it, too, refers to progeny, as in phrases such as *the seed of Abraham*.

An analysis of the Māori newspaper database for the two words for seeds revealed 690 tokens of *purapura* and only 313 for *kākano*. Many of these tokens were literal as the newspapers were full of information concerning the growing of introduced seed crops in New Zealand.

With a scarce tradition of seed planting in traditional Māori society it seems clear that the idea of metaphorically ‘planting (or sowing) seeds’ is derived from English. As we shall see in section

²¹⁰ Part of this quote appears under the entry for *kākano* in the fourth edition of the Williams’ *Dictionary of Māori* (H. W. Williams 1917) and subsequent editions.

8.3 the Bible, in particular, makes extensive use of this idea. In cognitive metaphor theory ‘planting seeds’ is an example of the cognitive metaphor IDEAS ARE SEEDS which is a variation of the metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS.

The *Oxford English dictionary* (OED) defines the figurative use of the English word *seed* as ‘the germ or latent beginning of some growth or development’ (Simpson & Weiner 1989, Vol.XX: 870). This growth often takes place in an individual and it leads to a subsequent change in behaviour. This change, or development, is implicit in the metaphoric phrase. This can be demonstrated by the following sentences, the first of which is typical, and the second of which is unlikely.

- (1) A seed was planted in him and he’s achieved great things.
- (2) A seed was planted in him but nothing came of it.

When seeds/ideas are planted inside a person the resultant growth can apply to one of two things. Either the seed/idea can grow, mature and flower, or the individual can grow, mature and flower, as in example (1) above. In the examples produced by the informants it is nearly always the person who grows, rather than the idea (which in this case is represented by the Māori language).²¹¹ Thus the seed is a catalyst for the individual who grows in a spiritual or culturally appropriate way. This outcome evokes another conceptual metaphor: PEOPLE ARE PLANTS.

For example, in this quote Karihi describes how he came to learn the Māori language. He had been involved in a Māori-based group for recovering alcoholics. His spiritual journey to learn Māori was inspired by his ancestors.

Nā te kākano kua whakatō e rātou i tīmata au ki te ako (Karihi).

Because of the seed planted by them I began to learn [the language].

Thus we can see that the seed which was planted led to a change in behaviour and mindset in the individual.

In the following quote Lovey talks about her own engagement with the Māori language. She uses not only the idea of a seed being planted but uses another metaphor to emphasise the ongoing nature of her commitment.

²¹¹ The *Concise Oxford dictionary* (Thompson 1995: 673) includes the following in its definitions of ‘idea’: a conception of plan formed by mental effort, a concept, an intention, purpose, or essential feature.’ While it may not seem literally true that a language can be an ‘idea’ we have seen from previous quotes that these second language learners of Māori regard the Māori language as being part of a whole conceptual worldview and their involvement with the language involves notions of intention, purpose and concept.

Āe, i whakatō i te kākano. I tahuna te ahi. Kei te kirikā tonu te ahi. Āe, te ahi kā roa, me kī, mō te reo (Lovey).

Yes, the seed was planted. The fire was lit. The fire is still burning. Yes, it's a long burning fire, let's say, for the language.

Again, the seed has resulted in some sort of change in the individual. Lovey has developed a commitment to furthering her ability in the Māori language.

On one occasion it was the idea itself which 'grew.' Anaru's inspiration to learn Māori came from his father. Initially he was unable to pursue this because of a lack of teachers but he eventually did find a teacher.

Ka whai huarahi ahau kia puāwai tērā kākano i whakatōngia e tōku pāpā (Anaru).

I followed a path so that that seed planted by my father would flower.

Here it is quite explicit that the seed was planted and the seed (idea) grew and came to fruition.

This quote also introduces us to the word *puāwai*, to flower. This word frequently accompanies *kākano* and *whakatō* to describe the resultant positive change which occurs when the seed is planted. Similarly, in the following quote Lovey uses all three words to describe how her son benefited from the Māori language environment at *kōhanga reo*.

I reira ka tīmata te reo a [taku tama] te puāwai. I whakatōngia te kākano o te reo ki roto i a ia. Ka puāwai ia (Lovey).

There the language of [my son] began to flower. The seed of the language was planted inside him. He flowered.

This quote contains examples where both the idea and the individual grow/flower. In sentence one it is the idea (the language) which blossoms while in the third sentence the sowing of this seed (learning the language) results in her son blossoming.

On one occasion an informant used the idea of a seed being planted to refer not to the Māori language but to undertaking university study. She was inspired to come to university to learn Māori as a result of one of her friends who extolled the virtues of tertiary study.

Ka whakaaro au, āe, ka whakatō te kākano i roto i a au (Hinemanina).

So I thought, yes, and the seed was planted inside me.

Although not expressed, the context tells us that the result of this seed being planted led to a change in Hinemania. The implicit idea is that she has ‘grown’ as a result.

In summary, the informants used the idea of a seed being planted refer to the idea of learning Māori. Implicit in the idea of seeds being planted is some sort of growth. While there was one example of the language itself growing as a result, in most cases the informants, either explicitly or implicitly used this image to refer to their own development and growth as individuals.

8.1.3 Growth

Nine of the informants talked about how engagement with the Māori language as an adult caused them or the Māori language to grow or flower. These metaphors can be expressed in the form LANGUAGE LEARNERS ARE PLANTS (a variation of the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS) and LANGUAGE IS A PLANT (a variation of the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS).

One of the expressions of this metaphor was through the use of the word *tipu* which we have already met in section 8.1.1. However, in that section *tipu* was used in reference to growth in childhood, when people do, literally, grow. Here, informants use the same word to talk about their growth as adults. Since they are no longer capable of physical growth this cannot be literal, rather it is metaphorical, referring to psychological, emotional or spiritual growth.

Informants used the word *tipu* to talk about how they were not ‘growing’ before they became involved in learning Māori. Here Karihi is talking about a time when he was drinking heavily.

Engari, nā te kaha o tōku mahi, i kore au i tipu. I kore tōku wairua i tipu
(Karihi).

But because I was heavily engaged in that activity I didn’t grow. My spirit didn’t grow.

In the following quote Sharon pays tribute to a particular teacher in the Te Ātaarangi movement who inspired her. Sharon describes the Te Ātaarangi group as a *whānau*, extended family.

Kei a ia te kaha ki te pupuri i te whānau, kia tipu kaha mai i runga i tēnei kaupapa nei (Sharon).

She had the strength to hold the family together, so we would grow strongly under this *kaupapa*.

The *kaupapa* under which they are ‘growing’ is centered on the Māori language. The linking of the Māori language with this ‘growth’ is implicit. However, in the following quote Anaru explicitly links his ‘growth’ as an adult to the Māori language.

Kua tipu au. Nā taku ako i te reo Māori (Anaru).

I have grown. Through my learning the Māori language.

Sometimes it was people other than the informants who were to benefit from growth through exposure to the Māori language.

I haere mai au ki te ako hei kura māhita kia pai ai te tipu ake o tō tātou rangatahi, kia tipu pai ai i roto i tēnei ao, kia mōhio Māori rātou, ki tō tātou reo rangatira (Te Wairere).

I came here to learn to be a teacher so that our young people could grow up well, so they would grow well in this world, with them knowing Māori, our chiefly language.

The image of adults growing through their involvement with the Māori language was expressed in English by one informant who started learning Māori through his involvement in an alcohol recovery scheme.

And that helped spark a lot of us on our journey of really wanting to know and to understand our reo. And it really helps in the **growth** process when we understand who we are as Māori (Karihi).

Not only do the informants talk about growing as a result of their learning and speaking Māori, some also talk about ‘flowering.’ Rau found that when her son started attending kura kaupapa she really started to use the Māori language more.

Ka tīmata au ki te puāwai hoki (Rau).

I also started to flower.

Sometimes informants talked not about their growth as individuals but used the image to talk about their concern over the future of the Māori language.

Kāore e pai ki te matenga, engari ngā tamariki e haere ana ki ngā kōhanga reo me ngā kura kaupapa ināianei, e tipu ana te reo (Peter).

It wouldn’t be good if it died, but with the children going to the kōhanga reo and the kura kaupapa now, the language is growing.

Thus, instead of referring to growth of the individual (PEOPLE ARE PLANTS) this reference to the growth of the Māori language evokes the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGES ARE PLANTS.

Sometimes it was not the Māori language which was flowering but other entities associated with the Māori language. Here Piringākau describes the development of Māori immersion schooling.

*I reira kua **puāwai** mai te kōhanga reo (Piringākau).*

And so kōhanga reo has flowered.

Puāwai is defined by Williams (H. W. Williams 1971: 303) as meaning ‘a flower’ and no verbal senses are given. Again, a comparative analysis of the Māori newspaper database and the MBC proved illustrative. The newspaper database confirmed the nominal sense of *puāwai* with only 13 of the 263 tokens being verbal. Most of the meanings were literal.

Of the 43 tokens of this word in the MBC, 36 were verbal and of these all except for 4 were metaphoric. In other words, the definition in Williams’ dictionary seems to be outdated, and a previous more literal and nominal sense of the word has been replaced in modern times with a more metaphoric and verbal sense.

8.1.4 Summary

Participants use the idea of growing in three ways to talk about their relationship with the Māori language.

1. Words for grow (*tipu* and *tupu*) were used in formulaic phrases to talk about the childhood language environment they and others experienced. In this manifestation the metaphoric idea that LANGUAGE IS AN ENVIRONMENT is evoked. This image was used by twenty of the thirty-two informants.
2. Four informants referred to the idea that the Māori language was often a seed which had been planted inside the learner, thus expressing the metaphor that LANGUAGE IS A SEED (a variation of the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS). This image was used by four informants. The planting of this seed usually resulted in growth of the language learner, thus evoking the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. There were some examples of where it was the Māori language itself which grew.
3. Informants also stated that exposure to the Māori language enabled them to grow and flower. The basis of these ideas is that LANGUAGE LEARNERS ARE PLANTS, a variation of the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. Sometimes the informants also spoke of the Māori language itself growing and flowering. These ideas were used by nine informants.

That is, the growth metaphor, as employed by the informants to refer to the Māori language, places emphasis on the individual's growth. This growth is seen as positive. The images used here allow the individual to describe an engagement with the language (a seed being planted) and a relationship with the language which has had positive benefits for them or the language itself (growth, flowering). In using the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS AN ENVIRONMENT the informants eschew the notion that language is just a tool for communication but emphasise that one's childhood language experience is associated with a pervasive and overarching worldview. In the case of the Māori language this worldview is particularly perceived as having a high cultural and spiritual dimension. This conceptualisation is in direct contrast to the idea that LANGUAGE IS AN OBJECT.

8.2 Early 19th century Māori sources

This section examines the use of images of growth in early 19th century Māori songs and proverbs. With respect to the words employed by the informants to express ideas associated with growth the words *tupu* and *tipu* feature in these sources while the words *puāwai*, *whakatō*, and *kākano* occur less frequently.

8.2.1 Waiata aroha

The analysis in this section is based on the 100 *waiata aroha* analysed in Orbell's thesis (1977). Orbell notes that 'in the love poetry there are only a few images which relate to horticulture' (Orbell 1977: 206). In the following example the woman likens herself to a crop of kūmara.

Ka mata waenga 'hau, ka pīwai tārua!

I am raw in the field, kūmaras to be dug over again! (Song 11: 7).

Like other images in the love poetry the image here is one of subordination, the woman is ready to be cooked and consumed. So although the poet describes herself as a plant, the image is not one of growth. Rather, what is being described is the end of the growth process of a plant when it is ready to be eaten.

There are several examples where a woman describes herself as a tree. Orbell notes that 'in the love poetry, metaphorical references to trees occur in passages in which women who have been unlucky in love lament their unhappy state, and often imply that nothing remains for them now but old age and death' (1977: 243-244). The following is one such example.

He aha koa ia, e koro,

He rākau hinga pō nā te hope!

What can be done, sir, now that

My hips are a tree fallen in the night! (Song 3: 7-8).

Orbell found only one example where the use of plants evoked the idea of positive growth.

Ko te wā tonu ia i mua rā,

Koi tara ana, ē, te hue nei!

Oh once there was a time

When this gourd was shooting! (Song 77: 5-6).

However, the context of the image makes it quite clear that this time of luxuriant growth belongs to the past. By implication the woman is now past her prime so the impact of the image is similar to the two previous examples.

In summary, in *waiata aroha* there are few images relating to growth. While the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS did occur this was usually associated with the end of the plants' life span. Thus the poet was food ready to be eaten or a tree which had fallen, images associated with subjugation, defeat, and unproductiveness. This is in direct contrast with the informants' use of the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor which was associated with positive and beneficial growth. There were no examples of the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS.

8.2.2 Oriori

The analysis in this and the following two sections are based on an investigation of songs from Ngata and Te Hurinui's three volume *Ngā mōteatea* series.²¹² As noted previously, *oriori*, lullabies, are vehicles for explaining the genealogical and political context into which a child has been born. The idea that PEOPLE ARE PLANTS does occur in *oriori* and there are two examples which, at least initially, appear to use the idea that IDEAS ARE PLANTS.

With respect to the idea that PEOPLE ARE PLANTS the following *oriori* uses the image of seeds to refer to progeny. We have seen this image before in section 8.1.2.

Ka noho a Kori ko Pari-nui-te-rā.
Ka whakahapūtia ngā kākano,
Ka ruiā e ia ki Wai-kura-ariki.
Maringi mai rā te whānau, ē,
Hekeheke mai rā te whānau, ē.
 Kori did abide at [Pari-nui-te-rā]
 Where the seeds were ripened
 Which he then sowed at Wai-kura-ariki.
 There was an outpouring of progeny,
 a tumbling forth of progeny (234: 50-54).

This quote introduces the verb *rui* (passive ending *-a*) which means 'to sow.' In both Māori and English this word is often used in variation with the word *whakatō*, to plant. Both words refer to different methods of introducing seed to a bed of soil and we shall see that there are a number of examples through to the present day which use *rui*. The word *rui* is not used by the informants.

In the following *oriori* the idea of growth is mentioned in a context which seems to suggest metaphorical as well as literal associations.

²¹² A. T. Ngata 1972 (originally published by the Polynesian Society in 1928) and A. T. Ngata and Te Hurinui 1961 and 1980.

Kei ō tīpuna māna rā koe
E whakamau ki te kaha o te āio,
O te rongomau, o te kōrero whenua,
*Kia **tipu** ai tama, kia hau ai rā.*
 Your grandsires will assuredly
 Ensure a peaceful life for you,
 Enduring peace, with tales about the land,
 And you, O son, will grow and prosper (269: 23-26).

While the child is encouraged to literally grow the idea of prospering also signifies that this growth may also be in terms of influence and power.

The following *oriori* refers to the ill fortune that this particular child has been born into. The word *tupu*, to grow, is used as part of an image where the flourishing of food is equated to the growth of the tribe.

Kāore rā ia, e tama,
He mahinga kai mā tāua,
*E **tupu** ai ki te ao.*
 Alas, O son, there is no
 place where we can grow food
 That will flourish [grow] in the world (272: 8-10).

While none of the words the informants used are contained in the following excerpt the idea of growth features throughout. The phrases used are honorific but conclude with the idea of seeds of knowledge being planted in the mind. Therefore this *oriori* appears to employ the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS.

Ka hoka Hine-rau-wharangi i konei i a ia,
Kia taha mai Ahuahu, ahua Te-Pukenui, ahua Te-Puke-whakakī,
Nāu, e Rongomaraeroa! Koia te ngahuru tikotikoire,
Te Maruā-roa o te mātahi o te tau,
Te putunga o te hinu,
E tama, ei!
*Whakarongo mai, e tama! kotahi tonu te **Hīringa***
I kake ai Tāne ki Tikitikiorangi,

Ko te Hīringa i te mahara.

Ka kitea i reira ko Io-matua-te-kore anake;

Hine-the-maid-of-clustered-leaves will dance with joy,

Tend her with care, garner the harvest, store it until it overflows,

This is your bounty, O Rongo-of-the-far-flung-fields! This the bounteous harvest time,

The long-awaited-snaring-time of the year

When calabashes overflow with fat,

O son, ah me!

Listen here, O son; there was only one Implanting

That transported Tāne up to the Uppermost-heaven,

It was the Implanting of the mind.

Nought visible but Io-the-parentless; (201: 55-64).

The idea of implanting, which up to now we have seen represented by the verb *whakatō*, is conveyed here by the word *hīringa*. The following excerpt also uses the word *hīringa* to associate implanting with knowledge.

I te Hīringa taketake ki te ao mārama;

Ka waiho hei ara mō te tini e whakarauika nei,

Implanting of sacred knowledge of the world of light;

Left as a pathway for the myriads who come and go, (201: 76-77).

The implication is that the seed of knowledge is associated with growth of the individual. This appears to parallel the way the informants use the idea of growing as a result of being implanted with the Māori language. However, the meaning of this word is obscure. Williams (H. W. Williams 1971: 53) gives the word *hiringa* (without a macron) as meaning *perseverance, energy, determination* and being equivalent to the word *mana*. In this waiata Te Hurinui translates it as *implanting*. Marsden (2003: 57) defines the related word *hihiri* as meaning *pure energy*. These two words typically appear in origin stories, a theme evident in this part of this *waiata*, which indicates that the meaning is ancient and rather obscure.

In summary, while the idea of growth does occur in *oriori* it is most often in the form PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. In this context seeds often refer to progeny and growth is associated with prosperity and *mana*. There are a couple of examples which appear to use the metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS, expressed through the idea of seeds being knowledge.

8.2.3 Waiata tangi

While *waiata aroha* and *oriori* contain few images relating to growth, *waiata tangi* use the image more frequently, but these images are often honorific, descriptive or associated with abstract ideas. In the following song flowers, *pua* (a shortened variant of *puāwai*;) are used as part of phrases honouring the deceased.

Iere, e tama, i runga i ngā tūke a Māui,
*A tō matua koe ki roto te whare **pua**,*
‘A tomo atu koe ki te whare mārama;
 Sing thy song, O son, upon the starry elbow of Māui,
 Thy father will then lead thee to the house of flowers,
 And thou wilt enter the house of light; (252: 37-39).

The following is an example of blooms being associated with people but the image is a descriptive one rather than evoking the idea of growth.

Ka whiri ngā mate ki ngā momo rangatira
Ka kawa ngā ware, ka waikohēritia,
*Ka kai he **pua** kē, ka rauiri ki te one, ī.*
 The encompassing grief for all ye noble ones
 Transcends the sorrow for those lowly ones who lie here,
 Like blooms of lesser hue, scattered upon the strand (26: 16-18).

These two examples show that even when ideas of plants are used figuratively in *waiata tangi* there is not always a growth metaphor involved.

The following quote is an example where *tupu* is associated with an abstract idea, in this case warfare. Images of flowers abound with the fact that all the flowers mentioned have red flowers signifying the blood that has been shed in warfare. This excerpt concludes with the idea that the feud which occasioned the death of the individual will not continue.

E awhi rā koe ki te kohe tata noa i waho,
E ngongo rā koe ki te pōhutukawa;
Koe pua toro-raro, koe pua rātā,
E tuhi rā i te whakakumu.
*E kore tō mate e **tupu** i konei.*
 Embrace thou the *kohe* that grows out yonder,
 Imbibe thou then from the *pō-hutukawa*;
 Also the flower of the *toro-raro*, and the bloom of the *rātā*,

Then chant the ritual of the crimson *kūmara*.

Thy malady will not spread [grow] from now on (252: 8-12).

The use of *tupu* here seems more associated with one of its other related meanings such as '[to] spring [forth]' (H. W. Williams 1971: 457) rather than 'grow.'

Orbell notes that in *waiata tangi* people are sometimes associated with plants, especially trees.

Metaphorical references to trees are common in Māori rhetorical speech and poetry. Usually the speaker is lamenting the death of a person such as a chief or warrior, and the dead man is identified with a tall tree which gave him shelter, but is now fallen to the ground (Orbell 1977: 243).

Thus the following lines from a lament for chief who died a natural death.

Ka hinga kai raro

Taku kōhuru tangata

Now fallen and lies there prone

My once sturdy totara sapling (139: 11-12).

As in *waiata aroha* the image here is not one of growth, but rather the opposite, it is one of death. Another use of the image of people as trees comes from a peace-making song²¹³ from Ngāti Kahungunu. Here the image concerns a person descended from an 'ancient tree' being likened to a sapling tree yet to achieve the status of a more mature tree with heartwood.

Nō te mea ia rā he rākau tawhito,

E mau ai te taitea i waho,

E tū te tahiwi;

*Tēnā ko tēnei he rākau **tipu** hou,*

He rākau rea hou, kei te māioio,

Kei te tīmohea tonu,

Ko Tauararai, ī.

Verily, that cometh from an ancient tree,

With sapwood barely adhering without,

And only heartwood standing firmly;

Now this one is a sapling tree [newly grown],

Newly sprung, quite immature,

Still a weakling,

²¹³ This song is therefore not a *waiata tangi* but is included in this section for comparative purposes.

So it is with Tauararai (115: 9-15).

This passage has some similarities to the way the growth metaphor is used by the informants in that the person has potential to grow and mature.

In the following excerpt growth of the individual is equated with tribal prosperity in a line which echoes the sentiments of one of the examples given in the section on *oriori* (Song 269).

Ko au, ko tama pūtea wānanga

Ki te whare kōrero,

Mā Wai-kapakapa

E hua²¹⁴ ake kia tupu,

I am the son with the kit of sacred knowledge

Taken from the council house.

It will now be the turn of Wai-kapakapa

To grow and prosper (294: 1-4).

In summary, while the image of people being described as plants appears in *waiata tangi* it often features in descriptive or honorific phrases which are not associated with growth. There are very few examples where people are described as ‘growing.’ There are no examples of ‘ideas’ being described as plants.

8.2.4 Proverbs

As with traditional Māori sung poetry the words *puāwai*, *whakatō* and *kākano* were rarely used in proverbs. Notwithstanding this, one of the most well-known proverbs in modern Māori society is the following.

E kore au e ngaro; te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea.

I shall never be lost; the seed which was sown from Rangiātea²¹⁵ (138).

Here people are described as seeds, a variation of the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor. We have already seen this kind of use of the word *kākano* from other early sources.

Images of growth, using either *tipu* or *tupu*,²¹⁶ are used in proverbs. The following proverb is a response by a famous chief as to how he would replace his losses in battle.

²¹⁴ The word *hua* means both ‘a fruit’ and ‘to fruit.’

²¹⁵ Ra’iatea (a version of Rangiātea) is an island in the Society Group.

²¹⁶ The word *tipu* features in four proverbs and *tupu* in eighteen.

*Me **tupu** i a wīwī, i a wāwā, tūria i te wera, piri ki te rito o te rengarenga, waiho me whakapakari ki **te hua** o te kawariki.*

Grow them like the rushes and sedges, set in warmth, thick as the shoots of the rengarenga, mature like the fruit of the kawariki (1916).

The idea that progeny can be ‘grown’ also uses the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS.

There are several proverbs which are drawn from observances of the natural world with regard to the growth of plants. These observances are then applied to the human condition. Krupa (1996: 23) notes that Māori frequently metaphorically extend the meaning of words referring to plant anatomy to refer to aspects of the human condition.

*E **tupu** atu kūmara, e ohu e te anuhe.*

As the kūmara grows the caterpillars gather round it (255).

This proverb can be applied to someone who increases in importance thereby gathering acolytes. The growth for the person is not physical but refers to growth in importance.

Variants of the following proverb are often cited to refer to the situation when an older person moves aside and lets a younger one take over.

*Ka mate he tētē, ka **tupu** he tētē.*

When a chief dies another comes forth [grows] (1030).

The word *tētē* refers to a young fern frond, and thus figuratively also, a chief.

In summary, while the idea of people being referred to as plants appears in a number of proverbs, few refer to the idea of people growing as a result of exposure to ‘ideas.’

8.2.5 Summary

With the informants the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor was typically used alongside the metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS in order to describe how the person has grown as a result of exposure to an idea or belief (in their case the Māori language). A dominant feature of the use of images of growth in the early sources examined here is that very rarely does the metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS appear. It is therefore impossible to evoke the metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS in a way that would describe a growth which is similar in kind to that of the informants.

The most consistent image associated with the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor in these sources is that of death, the complete opposite of how the metaphor is used by the informants.

8.3 The Māori Bible

Metaphorical images of growth feature in both the Old and New Testaments of the Bible. In Charteris-Black's analysis of selected books in the Old and New Testaments plants were the third most used source domain for metaphors. Many aspects of the life cycle of plants were used including the notions of seeds being planted, taking root, growing and flowering (Charteris-Black 2004: 190-199). Charteris-Black notes that 'given that agriculture was an established source of livelihood in the Middle East it is not surprising that it forms the most productive metaphor source domain in the Bible' (2004: 193).

With regard to the images we are interested in, both people and the nation of Israel are described as plants in the Old Testament and in the New Testament spiritual ideas are described as seeds leading to the spiritual growth of individuals.

With regard to terminology the Māori Bible prefers the use of the word *purapura* rather than *kākano* for 'seed', and *tupu* rather than *tipu* for 'growth.' Seeds are sown, *rui*, rather than planted, *whakatō*, and of the 48 tokens of the word *puāwai* in the whole of the Māori Bible only four are verbal. This latter point coincides with how *puāwai* is used in Māori newspapers and contrasts with its use in the MBC and in the informants' interviews.

8.3.1 The Old Testament

The conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS does not occur in the Old Testament texts Job and the Psalms. However the idea that PEOPLE ARE PLANTS does feature with a range of connotations. Most often it is expressed through the idea of righteous people growing.

*Ka **tupu** te tangata tika i ōna rā: tōna roa anō o te ata noho, ā kore noa te marama* (Ngā Waiata 72: 7).

In his days the righteous will flourish [grow]; prosperity will abound till the moon is no more (Psalm 72: 7).

The Old Testament texts also refer to people as trees. The following verse uses the word *whakatō*, to plant to help express this concept.

*E rite hoki ia ki te rākau i **whakatōkia** ki te taha o ngā awa wai, e whai **hua** nei i te pō e **hua** ai: e kore tōna rau e memenga; ā ka pono ana mea katoa e mea ai ia* (Ngā Waiata 1: 3).

He is like²¹⁷ a tree planted by streams of water, which yields its fruit in season and whose leaf does not wither. Whatever he does prospers (Psalm 1: 3).

The idea of growing, conveyed by the English word ‘flourishing’, covers financial and social prosperity and well as the implication of eternal life.

While those who believe in God will grow there are also a number of verses which refer to unbelievers growing like weeds.

*Kia pihi ake ngā whakaarokore anō he tarutaru, ā kia **tupu** ngā kaimahi katoa i te kino; he ngaromanga tēnā nō rātou ake ake* (Ngā Waiata 92.7).

That though the wicked spring up like grass and all evildoers flourish [grow], they will be forever destroyed (Psalm 92: 7).

This use of the growth metaphor again contrasts with that of the informants’ who only refer to growth in a positive way.

The following two verses are perhaps the most well-known use of the growth metaphor in the Old Testament. Here a simile likens believers to trees.

*Ka rite te **tupu** o te tangata tika ki tō te nīkau; ka rite tōna nui ki tō te hita i Repanona. Ko te hunga i **whakatōkia** ki te whare o Ihowa ka **tupu** ki ngā marae o tō tātou Atua* (Ngā Waiata 92: 12-13).

The righteous will flourish [grow] like a palm tree, they will grow like a cedar of Lebanon; planted in the house of the LORD, they will flourish [grow] in the courts of our God (Psalm 92: 12-13).

There are also examples where what grows is not people but abstract concepts associated with people.

*Ka **tupu** ake te pono i te whenua, ā ka titiro iho te tika i te rangi* (Ngā Waiata 85: 11).

Faithfulness springs forth [grows] from the earth, and righteousness looks down from heaven (Psalm 85: 11).

Another well-known Biblical image describes the people of Israel as a vine.

²¹⁷ Although, strictly speaking this is an example of a simile rather than a metaphor, the verse contains strong metaphorical elements.

*I maua mai e koe **he waina** i Ihipa: ka oti i a koe ngā tauwiwi te panga, nā **whakatōkia** iho e koe* (Ngā Waiata 80: 8).

You brought a vine out of Egypt; you drove out the nations and planted it (Psalm 80: 8).

Although it is a whole nation, rather than an individual, which is described as a plant this is still an example of the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS.

The following is one of the few verses in either Job or the Psalms which uses the word *puāwai*. The simile equates people to a plant, in this case a flower, which blooms only briefly. The image is used here to make the point about our brief life span.

*Ko te tangata ia, rite tonu ōna rā ki ō te tarutaru: kei te **puāwai** o te māra, ko tōna ngawhātanga* (Ngā Waiata 103: 15).

As for man, his days are like grass, he flourishes like a flower of the field (Psalm 103: 15).

In this respect this verse echoes the use of the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor in traditional Māori song poetry where it is associated with images of death.

8.3.2 The New Testament

The use of the growth metaphor in the New Testament is a little different to that in the Old Testament. In the New Testament texts people are soil and spiritual ideas take root in them. The most well-known use of this image is expressed in Jesus' parable of the sower, versions of which feature in three of the gospels.²¹⁸ In this parable a farmer sows seed which falls on several different types of ground with only that falling on fertile soil forming good roots and producing a good crop. The following verse from Matthew attempts to explain part of the meaning of the parable.

*Ko te tangata ia i **ngā purapura** i te oneone pai, ko te tangata e rongō ana ki te kupu, ā e mātau ana; ā ka whai **hua**, ea ake, nō tētahi kotahi rau, nō tētahi e ono tekau, nō tētahi e toru tekau* (Matiu 13: 23).

But the one who received the seed that fell on good soil is the man who hears the word and understands it. He produces a crop, yielding a hundred, sixty or thirty times what was sown (Matthew 13: 23).

²¹⁸ Matthew 13: 1-23, Mark 4: 1-20 and Luke 8: 1-15.

The seed is the word of God, thus expressing the idea that SPIRITUAL IDEAS ARE SEEDS, a version of the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS.

If the word of God is the seed here, one can ask what is it that grows? Does the word of God itself multiply or is it the true believer who grows? Most interpret that is the individual who grows, that is, through allowing the word of God to take root in his/her mind the person grows. That is, the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS (in this case seeds) leads to people growing in a spiritual way (PEOPLE ARE PLANTS). This schema parallels how the informants use both metaphors to convey the idea of them growing after being implanted with the Māori language.

8.3.3 Summary

Metaphors to do with growth feature heavily in the Bible due to the agricultural nature of Middle East culture at the time. Our examination of these ideas in selected Old and New Testament texts reveals a development between the two in how metaphors involving growth are used. In the Old Testament texts the metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS is not used but examples of the metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS abound. This metaphor is especially used to talk about righteous people and Israel. The use of the growth metaphor in the New Testament texts revolves around the parable of the sower in which the words of God are described as seeds, thus employing the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE SEEDS. Sowing these seeds into the fertile soil of a true believer's mind results in a miraculous spiritual growth of the individual, thus evoking the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. The linking of these two growth metaphors in this way parallels the way these two metaphors are linked by the informants.

8.4 Late 19th century Māori political writing

This section examines the use of growth images in late 19th century political writing. There are numerous examples where various ideas such as Christianity and political ideas were described as seeds or various parts of plants which can grow. There are also a few examples of people being described as plants who grow through engagement with Christianity or modernity.

8.4.1 Ideas are plants

A study of late 19th century sources revealed a number of examples of the use of the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS, most usually expressed in the form that IDEAS ARE SEEDS. The following quote written by Hare Haarii in 1905 contrasts the spiritual ideas brought by the missionaries with less beneficial ideas brought by later immigrants.

He puāwai reka i whakatōkia e ngā mahi toa a ngā Mihingare o Onamata. I muri mai i a rātau ngā tāngata i rui i ngā purapura o te mate (Te Puke Ki Hikurangi, 6(21), 1).

Sweet flowers were planted by the excellent work of the missionaries of yore.
After them came people who sowed the seeds of death.

The following is an example where what is planted was a fruit (which of course contains seeds). This quote is from 1930 and refers to a missionary family.

Te hua o Te Whakapono i whakatōria nei e ō rātou tūpuna ki roto i Te Iwi Māori i ngā rā ka hori ki muri (Te Toa Takitini, 110, 2191).

The fruit of Faith which was planted here by their ancestors into the Māori people in days long ago.

There are few examples in these sources of metaphoric flowering. The following is from 1930 and concerns depression politics.

Nā te kaha o te apitihana o ngā taha e rua i akutō ai te haere o ngā mahi, i kore ai e puāwai wawe ngā tūmanakotanga a tōna Kāwanatanga (Te Toa Takitini, 105, 2074).

Due to the strong unity of the two sides the work has been slow and the hopes of his government will not flower soon.

The following quote is the translated words of Wī Tako in 1862 prophesising as to how the government intended to deal with the King movement. The movement is spoken of as a tree.

Tear up **the root**, and **the branches** will wither (BPP 1969: 94).

The previous quotes have been examples of where various ideas are described as plants. On a number of occasions, ideas were described as growing. On these occasions, unlike the previous examples, the ideas were always described as seeds. The following example is from the words of Wiremu Te Wī at a meeting in Taranaki in 1859 concerning the sale of Waitara. He begins by making reference to the canoe of biblical faith which they are all on.

*Kei runga au kei a te Pono. He maungārongo koia tēnei i **hoea** mai ai kia herea ki te taura piharongo, te iwi tangata te **waka** tangata. He kawenga mai tēnei i **ēnei kākano** ki konei **tupu** ai, **puāwai** ai (Te Haeata, 1(4), 3).*

I am on the Faith. The reason why the tribes and canoes paddled here is so they could be tied up to the rock anchor, Peace. This is a bringing here of these seeds to this place to grow and flower.

The seeds referred to here are the seeds of faith which are described as growing and flowering.

It was not only religious ideas which were planted and grew. The following quote from 1922 refers to the work of a marae committee.

*Nā reira ka inoi atu mātou ki Te Kaihanga kia tukua mai te kaha ki a mātou ki te **whakatuputupu** i ēnei tikanga hei painga mō mātou me ā mātou tamariki me ā mātou mokopuna, ā kia manaakitia hoki koutou te hunga nā koutou nei i **whakatō** iho **ēnei kākano papai** ki tēnei marae (Te Toa Takitini, 15, 4).*

Therefore we pray to the Creator to send us the strength to grow these procedures for the benefit of us and our children and grandchildren, and to also look after you, the people who planted these good seeds at this marae.

The ‘good seeds’ mentioned here are the good works of the committee.

The following extract from the conclusion of a letter written by the Rev. Timoti R. Kiriwi in 1898 refers to the ideas contained in his letter as seeds to be planted, and hopefully grow.

*Kāti rā e Manu. Ka nui rawa ēnei kōrero. Ka mutu nei te tino kai o te reta, mehemea rā he tikanga **kākano** ki tāu whakaaro iho, arā kia whakaaro nui tātou ki te **whakatō** i te **purapura** ki te māra, mā te Wairua Tapu e whakamākūkū. Mā te Atua e mea kia **tupu** (He Kupu Whakamārama, 16, 7).*

That’s enough, Bird. I’ve said enough. Here finishes the real food of the letter, and if you think there are any worthy seeds that would give us something to think about, to plant the seed in the garden, let the Holy Spirit moisten it and may God allow it to grow.

The following is a report by T. Wī-Repa concerning the building of a high school at Rotorua in 1928. The seed is the idea of building a school which has matured into fruition.

Ko te kākano i onokia²¹⁹ e ngā kaumātua o Ngāti-Whakaue, ā, tipu ake ai ko taua kura te mea whakamīharo (Te Toa Takitini, 83, 812).

The seed was planted by the elders of Ngāti Whakaue and what has grown is that amazing school.

Another example of ideas growing is contained in a petition to the government by Wiremu Tamihana in 1864. Here the ideas referred to are those associated with the King movement, which when they grew produced some bad fruit.

Tae noa mai ki te Kīngitanga kātahi ka tupu nui taua rākau i whakatupuria rā e Ihāia, ka hua i te hua kino, taku kitenga i te kino o ngā hua, tīkina atu e au tuakina iho, ka hinga i muri o te hinganga o taua rākau, kātahi ka kiia, ko te Kīngi te matua i whānau ai taua tangata, koia ka hua i te hua kino.

And so on up to the time of the King movement – then grew rapidly [AJHR note: Great] that tree which was planted by Ihāia²²⁰ – it bore fruit – evil fruit – when I saw that the fruit was evil, I sent and cut it down. After that tree had fallen then it was said, that out of the King movement originated the proceedings of that man, and thus it was that the fruit which had been produced was evil fruit (Stokes 2002: 479 & 485).²²¹

The following quote comes from Hāmiora Piripi Mangakahia, stalwart of the Te Kotahitanga political movement,²²² in 1898. The plant here is the Te Kotahitanga movement whose growth is explained in great detail.

*Ki TE KOTAHITANGA o te Iwi Māori, te Iwi ngā Rangatiratanga, tōu nui, tōu roa, tōu hōhonu, tōu tiketike, tōu mana, tōu Rangatiratanga, kua whakatōkia nei e koe kia tupu hei rākau nui, hei rākau kaha ki runga i ngā motu e rua, tōu pakiaka, kia kaha te hou ki raro ōu kākano kia pakari, ōu peka nunui kia pīngohe i te pēhanga a ōu hua, kia rere ngā manu o te rangi ki te inu i ngā Wai o ngā puāwai Whakamīharo (Te Puke Ki Hikurangi, 1(8), 1).*²²³

²¹⁹ *Ono* is verb meaning ‘to plant root crops.’

²²⁰ Ihāia Te Kirikūmara. For more information about his involvement in events leading up to the wars in Taranaki see his biography at www.dnz.govt.nz.

²²¹ The petition was originally published in the 1866 AJHR, section G2.

²²² The Māori parliament, known as Te Kotahitanga (unity of purpose) was formed in the late 1890s. It had its own newspaper *Huiā Tangata Kotahi*. Mangakahika was its premier from 1895-97.

²²³ This article was also republished in 1989 in *Te Tiupiri*, 1(24), 6 and in 1905 in *Te Puke Ki Hikurangi*, 6(16), 1.

To the Unity of the Māori people, the sovereign people, your size, length, depth, height, authority, and chieftainship has been planted by you to grow into a large tree, as a strong tree on both islands, with your root firmly forcing down below, with mature seeds, with your numerous branches laden down with fruit, so that the birds of the sky will fly to drink the nectar of its amazing flowers.

In this section we have seen a number of examples of the use of the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS. Various ideas, ranging from those associated with the Bible, through to political ideas associated with the King movement and Te Kotahitanga were described as various parts of plants. The images most often used to represent the source domain PLANTS were seeds, fruit and flowers. Besides ideas being described as plants there were also a number of examples describing the growth of these ideas.

8.4.2 People are plants

The late nineteenth century sources also contained examples of the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. The following passage from one of the Māori newspapers uses the word *puāwai* in evoking the metaphor. This passage comes from a letter by Henere Harawira Te Herekau reporting the death of Maka Te Momongo in 1858.

Kua toro mai te Ringaringa o te Atua ki te tango atu i te puāwai pai, i roto i tana kāri (Te Karere o Pōneke, 1(30), 2).

The Hand of God has reached out to take away the beautiful flower from inside his garden.

However, this example is merely descriptive; Maka is described as a flower in a garden. He is not described as growing. Nevertheless there were a few examples where the use of the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor was associated with growth of the individual.

The first example is interesting in that it is very similarly worded to the final passage in the previous section. However, instead of referring to ideas growing it is people who are growing. This was written by T. Renata in 1898.

Heoi e ngā hoa kia whai kaha koutou i roto i te Ariki, kua whakatōkia nei koutou kia tipu, hei rākau nui, hei rākau kaha, ki runga ki ngā Motu e rua, kia kaha ai te hou o ngā pakiaka o [ō] koutou ngākau ki raro, kia pakari ai ngā Hua, kia rere ai ngā Manu o te Rangi, ki te Inu i wai o ngā Puāwai Whakamīharo (Te Puke Ki Hikurangi, 1(18), 6).

And so friends may you have strength in the LORD who has planted you to grow as big, strong trees throughout the two islands so that the roots of your hearts will force down below, and the fruits will mature and the birds of the sky will fly to drink the nectar of your amazing flowers.

The source of energy for this growth is Christianity. Another potential source of growth for Māori during this period was through engagement with modernity. One of the initial ways that Māori came into contact with the advancements of modern society was through engagement with governmental agencies. In 1857 Fenton undertook an expedition to talk to Waikato chiefs and explain the importance of establishing Pākehā law in the area. In response to the ideas he heard Rakaupango is reported as saying (in translation):

Now for the first time I know and understand the road ... law first, and **growth** afterwards (*AJHR* 1860: 42).

The growth he is talking about here relates to the prosperity and advancement of the Māori people.

These two examples show that the sources of personal growth amongst late 19th century Māori were Christianity and modernity.

8.4.3 Summary

The two great themes of Māori experience of the late 19th century were Christianity and modernity. The examples of the use of images to do with growth in this time period illustrate both of these themes. Both Christianity and engagement with modernity through Māori political aspirations were described as seeds or parts of plants, thereby utilising the IDEAS ARE PLANTS metaphor. Furthermore there were examples where these ideas are not just described as various parts of plants but as growing in all sorts of ways. These descriptions emphasise how Māori perceived that these great themes were developing and influencing their lives. There are also examples of the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor in which people are described as growing as a result of engagement with Christianity and aspects of modernity.

8.5 Early 20th century Māori sources

The following two sections will examine the use of growth metaphors in two early 20th century sources: the songs of Māori composer Tuini Ngāwai and the correspondence between Sir Peter Buck and Sir Āpirana Ngata as well as writings related to Buck and Ngata.

8.5.1 The Buck and Ngata correspondence

The Buck and Ngata correspondence contains several examples of two metaphors related to growth: IDEAS ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE PLANTS.

The metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS is expressed in both Māori and English in the correspondence. In the following quote from 1929 Ngata is talking about anthropological studies in the Pacific.

You say American money is **sowing the seed** which New Zealand may **crop** later (Sorrenson 1986: 211).

The seeds here are the ideas associated with anthropology, and ‘the crop’ is the work produced as a result of will benefit New Zealand universities. So not only are the seeds (ideas) sown they also grow with a resultant benefit for New Zealand.

The following quote does not come from either Buck or Ngata but was part of a welcome speech given to Buck and his wife by Henare Ruru when Buck made a return visit to New Zealand in 1930. The salutations make reference to Buck’s work in the Pacific, ‘the *marae* where our ancestors grew.’

*Hoki mai e Rangi i ngā marae i **tupu** mai ai ō tātou tūpuna, ki te wā kāinga i **whakatōria** nei e tō matua e Timi **tēnei purapura pai** o te haere whakamua (Te Toa Takitini, 103, 2028).*

Welcome back Rangi²²⁴ from the *marae* where our ancestors sprung forth [grew], to the home where your father James [Carroll] planted this good seed of progress.²²⁵

Thus the seed is an idea, in this case one associated with modernity: progress.

While seeds are not literally mentioned this quote from Ngata, written in 1935, echoes the conceit contained in the biblical verses in the parable of the sower, where spiritual ideas (the word of

²²⁴ Peter Buck was also known as Te Rangihīroa, shortened here to Rangi.

²²⁵ For a discussion on the phrase *haere whakamua* see section 6.1.4.

God) are described as seeds sown into the fertile soil of the believer's mind. The context of this quote is one where Ngata is talking about engendering co-operation between Māori and Pākehā.

[Master's] advice, backed by the representatives of all tribes, fell on **fertile soil**
(Sorrenson 1988: 185).

As well as referring to ideas as seeds Ngata also evoked the IDEAS ARE PLANTS metaphor by referring to ideas as fruits. In the following quote from a letter in English written by Ngata in 1931 the idea the plant represents is a political policy.

I have tried to gather **the fruits** of a taihoa policy which conserved some of the racial heritage of land (Sorrenson 1987: 163).

There are also a number of quotes from Buck and Ngata which use the cognitive metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. The following is the most well-known saying attributed to Sir Āpirana Ngata. According to Mead and Grove (2001: 48) these words were written in the autograph book of a young girl.²²⁶ In wishing the young girl well for her future Ngata begins by evoking the metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS.

*E tipu, e rea,*²²⁷ *mō ngā rā o tōu ao.*

*Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ora mō tō tinana,
ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga a ō tīpuna hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga,
ko tō wairua ki te Atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa.*

Grow and branch forth for the days of your world;
Your hand to the tools of the Pākehā for the welfare of your body,
Your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as adornments for your head
Your spirit with God, who made all things (Mead & Grove 2001: 48).

Buck also uses this metaphor in a letter written in 1930 describing someone as a kūmara (sweet potato).

He tangata pai taua tangata engari e hara pea o te kūmara kotipu o te māra o taua tupuna.

That man is a good man but not perhaps a main tuber from the kūmara garden of our ancestors (Sorrenson 1987: 75).

In the following quote from a letter written in 1936 by Ngata he envisages a whole group of people as a plant.

²²⁶ This girl was Rangī, daughter of John Bennett (Mead & Grove 2001: 48).

²²⁷ Both *tipu* and *rea* mean 'to grow.'

*Ko te tūmanako a te ngākau kia **tupu**²²⁸ hou tēnei wehenga o te Tai-hauāuru.*

One's sincere wish is for this section of the West Coast to grow anew (Sorrenson 1988: 216).

In conclusion, Ngata and Buck both use images of growth in Māori and English to evoke the metaphors IDEAS ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. There are several examples from their correspondence where people grow as a result of exposure to political and academic ideas. Most of the examples contain the idea of people growing and changing. Like the informants they used the Māori words *whakatō*, *tupu* and *tipu* but they preferred the word *purapura* to *kākano*. The word *puāwai* did not feature.

8.5.2 The songs of Tuini Ngāwai

Images associated with growth do not feature strongly in Ngāwai's song repertoire. However, the words *purapura*, seed, and *puāwai* do occur in several songs to express the conceptual metaphors IDEAS ARE PLANTS and IDEAS ARE SEEDS. The metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS was not employed.

Due to Ngāwai's strong Christian faith there are several songs which feature biblical references to the seeds of faith.

He purapura pai

*Ka manakohia kia **puāwai** e* ('Tō karere ki ahau e': 11).

A good seed

Which we yearn to flower.

This song is even more explicit about the nature of the seeds.

Mīharo ana ngā whakaaro e te iwi e

*Ki **ngā purapura** pai a te Ariki e*

Oh people!

Appreciate the seeds of wisdom

Sown by the LORD ('Matariki': 57-58).

Blossoms were also used to represent biblical ideas. The previous lines to this quote call on the star cluster Matariki²²⁹ to show a light of faith.

²²⁸ As a speaker from the Eastern dialect area one would expect Ngata to use the form *tipu* as he does in the proverb above. Since he is writing to Buck, who is from a Western dialect area, this is quite likely an example of linguistic accommodation.

Kia tipu he puāwai honore

Mō te pani, mō te rawakore e

Nurture the bloom that it may flower

An honoured benefit for the poor and the needy ('Tō aroha': 63).

These three quotes illustrate the metaphor SPIRITUAL IDEAS ARE PLANTS, a subset of the metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS.

Ngāwai also uses other target domains in using the metaphor IDEAS ARE SEEDS. Most often these are aspects of Māori culture which she describes as being handed down by the elders.

Kia kaha ngā iwi pupuritia

Ngā purapura i mahue mai rā.

Be energetic and maintain

The advice [seeds] that was left ('Kia kaha ngā iwi': 112).

The following example comes from a song concerned with finding direction for dissolute young people. Again the seeds being referred to are Māoritanga.

Kei whea kei whea rā he hurihanga e

Mō ngā rangatahi hautū hei

Ki ngā toenga purapura pai ('Takarua whiu, whiu, whiu': 69).

Where, O where is there a turning

For the dissolute young people

Towards the remaining good seeds.

Similarly in the following excerpt.

Kohikohitia ngā purapura

I mahue ake i ngā tūpuna ('E ngā rangatahi': 92).

Gather up the seeds

Left behind by the ancestors.

On one occasion Ngāwai uses another aspect of the IDEAS ARE SEEDS metaphor to describe Pākehā education as something that has been implanted into Māori.

Te mātauranga o te Pākehā

He mea whakatō hei tinanatanga

²²⁹ The Pleiades. This heliacal rising of this group of stars in May/June presaged the start of the new year for Māori.

The knowledge of the Pākehā
Has been instilled into us ('Te mātauranga o te Pākehā': 70).

The most prominent feature of Ngāwai's use of metaphors concerned with growth is her use of seeds as to represent biblical faith and Māori culture through to Western education. Unlike the informants she uses the word *purapura* for seed rather than the word *kākano*. This is undoubtedly due to her strong biblical background. There are no examples of the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor.

8.5.3 Summary

Ideas about growth are used in quite different ways in the two sources analysed in this section. Ngāwai focuses on the idea of seeds, *purapura*, most particularly to emphasise the importance of two of her favourite themes: Christianity and Māori culture. Both are linked to a strong, stable tradition which can provide direction for young Māori tempted by some of the trappings of a modern society. The idea of people growing as a result of the implanting of these seeds of faith or culture is implicit rather than explicitly stated for she did not use the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor.

Although Buck and Ngata employ both the IDEAS ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphors both are used separately with only implicit examples of people growing as a result of 'ideas.' Buck and Ngata's writings focus heavily on the ideas of social, political and educational progress for Māori.

Both sources preferred the word *purapura* for seed to the word *kākano*, used by the informants. This probably reflects their familiarity with the Bible and the more widespread use of this word as they were growing up in the late 1890s.

8.6 Late 20th century Māori sources

There are numerous examples of the use of the growth metaphor in Māori writings from the late 20th century including examples which associate the Māori language with growth. In section 8.6.1 we examine writings about Māori identity and the Māori language. Section 8.6.2 features the songs of Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato and Dean Hapeta and section 8.6.3 examines the growth metaphor in the Māori Broadcast Corpus.

8.6.1 Writing about Māori identity and the Māori language

In the late 20th century writings on identity and language there are examples of both the IDEAS ARE PLANTS and the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphors. The metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS was used both in Māori and English. In all cases the ideas are described as either growing or flowering. For example, the following quote concerns the building of a dining room alongside a meeting house.

Nō reira rā te whakatōtanga i te kākano me hanga hoki he piringa. Ā, i te rā nei te huanga o te whakaika, te puāwaitanga o te kākano (Stirling 1996: 115-6).

It was then that the seed was planted to build a companion [building]. And today we have the fruit of the mound, the flowering of the seed.

The following quote is part of a tribute to elders who advanced a Māori cultural agenda. The kaupapa mentioned here is one which follows a Māori social agenda which is not only planted but grows.

Through their determination and commitment the kaupapa was able to **grow** and **flourish** (Bennett 1996: 22).

Similarly in the following quote which uses the verb *to flower* to describe the growth of Māori initiatives.

Other Māori initiatives have **flowered** (Green 1996: 65).

The following is an excerpt from a song composed in 1980 by Huia Whakamoe. The familiar words *kākano* and *tipu* are joined by the passive form of *ngaki*, to plant. The seed mentioned here is Māoritanga, cultural heritage passed down from the ancestors.

Anei te kākano

Ngakia mai e koe

Mei kore tipu (Whakamoe 1996: 24).

Here is the seed

Planted by you

In the hope that it will grow.

These examples all show a strong association of seeds with growth. The seeds include a range of things but all are associated with Māori culture. Possibly the quote which most epitomizes these ideas is the following from the writings of Māori Marsden. Marsden was a noted philosopher and Anglican minister whose writings on Māori epistemology have been hugely influential.²³⁰ Marsden wrote a number of articles from the 1970s onwards in which he articulated the ‘religious, philosophical and metaphysical attitudes upon which Māoritanga is based’ (Marsden 1975: 191). He was particularly taken with the idea of growth which he associated with Māori origin stories. The following quote is one such example.²³¹

Io-wānanga, uttered his word and the **root** foundation of all things were established – **the seed, the shoot and the various roots**. In **Te Kākano, the original seed**, pulsed the life-principle (*mauri*) impelling **the shoot** to emerge and **branch** forth as **roots** seeking, pursuing, extending, enlarging, spreading, increasing (Marsden, in Royal 2003: 32).

These ideas about the beginning of creation are clearly articulated by Marsden as being associated with growth and change. The effect is to emphasise that Māori culture is vibrant and changing. Linking his ideas with contemporary burgeoning writings on physics and the nature of the universe Marsden said that ‘like the New Physicists, the Māori perceived the universe as a ‘process’ (Marsden, in Royal 2003: 31).

There are also a number of examples of the IDEAS ARE PLANTS metaphor where the target domain is associated with the Māori language, paralleling the informants’ use of the metaphor LANGUAGE IS A SEED. In the following example language is envisioned as being planted inside people.

Tēnā ia ko te reo. ‘Nā te Atua i whakatō; nā te tangata i whakapuaki’
(Rangihau 1993: 102).

And that’s the language. ‘God planted it, and people uttered it.’

While the previous quote attributes the creation of the Māori language to the Christian god the following quote gives the same credit to the Māori god Io.

²³⁰ ‘Rev. Māori Marsden (1924-1993) was a *tohunga*, scholar, writer, healer, minister and philosopher of the latter part of the twentieth century. A member of the Tai Tokerau peoples of the north, Māori was both an ordained Anglican minister and a graduate of the *whare wānanga*, the traditional tribal centre of higher and esoteric learning’ (Royal 2003: back cover).

²³¹ See also Marsden 1975: 216.

*Ko tō tātau reo Māori ... **te purapura** i tiritiria mai e Io mātua kore i Rangiātea*
(Nepia 1993: 343-4).

Our Māori language ... is the seed sown by Io the fatherless in Rangiātea.

Like ideas such as Māoritanga, which are frequently talked about as growing, the Māori language is also described as a seed which grows in various ways. The following example uses an extended version of the metaphor which describes the Māori language right from implanting through growth and flowering. The wording here echoes examples from the late 19th century quoted in sections 8.4.1 and 8.4.2.

*Kotahi tonu te taonga i kotahi ai ō rātau whakaaro katoa, arā, ko tō rātau reo tapu, tuauriuri whāioio. Ko te reo i haria mai ai i Hawaiki, i **whakapārekereketia** ai ki **te oneone** o Aotearoa i **tanumia** ai, ā, mai o te **kōhuretanga** ake i roto i **te oneone** nei, i **whakatipuria** ai, i poipoia ai, i penapenatia ai, i manaakitia ai, i **tipu** ai, ā, nō **te tipunga** ka haumi, ka āwhiowhio tōna kakara ki ngā tōpito o tō rātau ao o neherā* (Rangihau 1993: 102).

There is one treasure which unifies all their thoughts, that is, their sacred language in its total complexity. The language was brought here from Hawaiki, planted into the soil of New Zealand and buried, and from its development to maturity in the soil here, it has been grown, dandled, nurtured, cared for, grown, and when its grown its scent joined and wended its way to the edges of their ancient world.

The Māori language is seen as something which has grown through the input of Māori ancestors.

Te reo Māori is *our* language, created for us by our atua. It was **nurtured**, **developed** and made beautiful by the wisdom and genius of our tīpuna (S. Jackson 1993: 215).

From its origins in the past the following quote describes the potential of the Māori language to grow. What is meant here by ‘growing’ is increasing the number of speakers and interlocutions conducted in the language in the present and future.

*Ko te wawata ... **kia tipu**²³² te reo Māori i roto i ngā nekeneke o te ao hurihuri*
(Shortland 1996: 81).

²³² The speaker here is a native speaker of Māori from Northland, which lies in the Western dialect area. Accordingly one would expect him to use the variant *tupu*.

The hope is that ... the Māori language will grow in the ever-changing modern world.

The following excerpt comes from a song called 'Hei Konei Rā' which was composed in 1994. Here the word *puāwai* is used verbally to describe the role of a Māori teacher training institution with regard to the Māori language.

Kia puāwai te reo Māori e (Paewai & Paewai 1996: 11).

So that the Māori language will flower.

This quote endorses the role of the Māori language in the growth of Māoritanga.

Te reo is the **flowering** of Māoritanga (H. Williams 1993: 230).

In all these quotes about Māori initiatives, Māori culture and Māori language growing there are numerous references to origins and ancestors. These quotes exemplify the preoccupation in Māori thinking at the time about the importance of the past for Māori to progress into the future.

We will turn now to examples of the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS in these late 20th century writings on identity and language. In the sources studied there were no examples in Māori of this metaphor, but there were a number in English. In the following quote individual people are seen as part of a plant, the whole of the plant being collective humanity.

The Parapara is a tree that produces clusters of leaves. Each cluster has a set of five leaves²³³ which symbolise for me, my Māoritanga. The five leaves lead into **a stem**, me. **The stem** is attached to **a branch**, which for me represents the Māori people. **The whole tree** as I see it, is humanity itself (Pere 1979: 23).

This quote is merely descriptive with no explicit mentioning of growing. Other examples do mention human growth. Here individual potentials are seen as the flowering of the plant.

Your inherent potential or talents must not be hidden or denied their full **flowering** by anyone. ... If you were a rose, your perfection would be in the beauty of your **flowers** and the quality of your fragrance (Szászy 1993: 288).

Szászy articulates a common precept of current Western epistemology: that adults have an inherent potential and we must continue to grow and develop throughout our lives in order to

²³³ According to Pere the five leaves represent spirituality, ancestral ties, kinship ties, humanity and Papatūānuku (Pere 1979: 23-25).

fulfil that potential. As we have seen in previous quotes in this section, for Māori this sort of growth is often associated with Māori culture and language.

In the quote below the importance of linking with one's ancestral past is tied in to the potential for growth in the individual. The sacred taproot represents the ancestral generations.

In time, the Māori spread
across the surface of the land.
Generations passed, and his new **roots**
grew deeper, stronger, in the land of his birth.
... generation to generation;
each **nurturing** the sacred **taproot** (Puketapu 1979b: 15).

This taproot which Puketapu is talking about is one which he, as a native speaker, feels strong and real. However this contrasts with the experience of young people at the time who were growing up in the cities.

They are not only alienated from our society but also from **their roots** and
extended kin groups (Mahuta 1979: 18).

The emphasis on roots is in contrast to the idea of seeds which we have found to be so important in earlier sources. While in those sources seeds can often lead to growth, here the importance of taproots which link into a rich ancestral path are seen as necessary for growth. As Sissons notes 'indigenous cultures need to have their **roots** in the soil, it is said. Indigenous urbanization is seen as a fatal **uprooting**' (Sissons 2005: 62).

Puketapu's quote above also echoes the theme of the hugely influential book *Roots* by African American author Alex Haley which was published in 1976, just a few years before the publication of Puketapu's words. Haley's book detailed a historical quest into his African origins and placed importance on uncovering genealogical links to a rich cultural heritage associated with the past.

In these writings on Māori identity and language both ideas (often in the form of Māoritanga) and people grow. Often the ideas and people are referred to as seeds and we have seen that if it is the Māori language which is mentioned as a seed it is typically associated with growth, emphasising the perceived efficacy of Māori language revitalisation initiatives. People are described as having intrinsic potential for growth and this growth is often seen as requiring a focus on the roots of the past.

8.6.2 Songs of Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato and Dean Hapeta

Images of growth do not feature strongly in the songs of Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato and Dean Hapeta. However, there are examples of both the metaphors IDEAS ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE PLANTS.

The metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS is typically expressed through the idea that Māori culture is seeds necessary for our survival in the modern world. This excerpt from the song ‘Kia kaha ngā iwi’ composed in 1967 by Ngoi Pewhairangi mourns the loss of leaders and urges those listening to retain the seeds of Māori culture.

Pupuritia ngā purapura i mahue mai rā

And retain those things [seeds] bequeathed to us (Kāretu 1987: 99-100).

Dean Hapeta also refers to the seeds of teaching of the past which are growing in the present.

Ka ruia te kākano, ka rea noa ake (‘Te honenga’).

A seeds shall sow shall multiply (‘Rebellion – the usurpation’) (Te Kupu 2000).

The lament ‘Tiro tiro kau au’ composed by Kāretu in 1978 neatly combines the metaphors IDEAS ARE PLANTS and LANGUAGE IS FOOD. The ideas are Māori language and culture which are the legacy of elders who have passed away. These seeds in turn produce food for younger generations and allow them to grow in various ways.

Heoi anō rā, kua ruia e koutou te purapura

Ko tāku he ngaki i te māra

Kia puta ai ngā hua hei oranga mōku e tū nei

Oranga tinana, oranga wairua, oranga iwi

Fortunately, you have already sown the seed

My role being to keep the garden clear of weeds

So that the fruits will give me sustenance,

Physically, spiritually and tribally (Kāretu 1987: 65-66).

This emphasis on the past as sustenance for the future can be contrasted with Hapeta’s rap lyrics in which he often articulates a politicised alternative where seeds represent decolonisation. Hapeta uses the word *kākano* for seeds, rather than the word *purapura* which featured in Kāretu and Pewhairangi’s songs.

Mauru te hinengaro whiwhita, kia mau he hiahia

He kākano kia kōrerotia, he kākano i mārohatia

E hīkoi pai ana mātou i te whakaaro-tahi (‘Te kairaupatu’).

To will is divine to grow to know a seed
To instil is sublime to behold a need a seed foretold
A seed unfold, in harmony, we stepping free ('Vision – the conqueror') (Te Kupu 2000).

The lyrics here also describe our potential to grow as being an inherent (divine) part of our existence and link this growth with knowledge. Links to the past are also important, and are conveyed here by the word 'foretold.'

In the following quote Hapeta uses the idea of flowers rather than seeds to represent the metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS.

Ngā ara whiriwhira mō te ātetenga
Te puāwaitanga o ngā putiputi tīari ('Te kairaupatu').
Chosen paths of resistance
Blooming flowers of existence ('Vision – the conqueror') (Te Kupu 2000).

The following examples demonstrate the use of the metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS. The only example from the songs of Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato is from the ngeri 'E noho ana' composed in 1981.

*E kore e hekeheke, **he kākano** rangatira*
I will never be lost, for I am the seed of chiefs (Kāretu 1987: 43-44).

The quote marks used in this part of the song indicate that these words are based on the sentiments expressed in the following familiar proverb.

*E kore au e ngaro; **te kākano** i **ruia** mai i Rangiātea.*
I shall never be lost; the seed which was sown from Rangiātea (Mead & Grove 2001: 30-31).

Hapeta's post-colonial rhetoric revolves around the idea of the growth of indigenous peoples to throw off the shackles of colonisation. Accordingly there are a number of references to individual growth.

When you wake up and realise you'll say fuck the lies
But better I feel good cos I know that as we **grow**
From our minds we'll let 'em know (Hapeta 1998: 112).

The following example also describes individual growth which is described as giving the person a feeling of internal warmth.

*He aha ai, i a koe i **tupu**²³⁴ ake*

Tērā tētehi hana nō roto ('Te hiringa').

Why is it as you grow

There's affinity from within it glows ('Mauri – the sustenance') (Te Kupu 2000).

In the final example Hapeta describes the whole of humanity as seeds, *kākano*, which have grown and scattered.

*Ka **ruia te kākano** ka rere **te hua*** ('Te hinonga').

But humanity's seed's sown

The fruits now grown have flown ('Before – the affirmation') (Te Kupu 2000).

In summary, the late 20th century song sources examined here do not contain many examples of growth metaphors. With respect to the IDEAS ARE PLANTS metaphor most examples refer to seeds which are either linked to an ancestral past, or, in Hapeta's case, to ideas of decolonisation. The few examples of the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor mostly come from Hapeta's raps where people are seen as growing when they follow a process of decolonisation which provides spiritual satisfaction.

8.6.3 The Māori Broadcast Corpus

The Māori Broadcast Corpus (MBC) contains a number of examples of both the IDEAS ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphors. In particular, there are a number of examples which cite the Māori language as growing.

With regard to the conceptual metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS there are many examples where the words *whakatō* and *kākano* are used to refer to ideas being implanted in people. These 'ideas' can range from religious beliefs through to Māori philosophical agendas. The following example equates the seed with 'faith.'

***Whakatō** i te, i **te kākano** o te whakapono ki roto* (mbc152).

Plant the, the seed of faith inside.

In this case, what is being implanted is the gospel.

*Nō tērā rau tau i riro i ngā mīhana hei **whakatō** i te rongopai* (mbc048).

²³⁴ Hapeta, of Ngāti Huia and Ngāti Raukawa/Toa/Te Atiawa descent uses the Western dialect form of this word which is consistent with his tribal affiliations.

From last century the missions have undertaken to plant the gospel.

Other sorts of ‘ideas’ which can be implanted include a range of Māori initiatives. The following speaker is talking about the opportunities available as a result of a new Māori sports initiative.

*Koirā te mea nui rā, kua, kua homai e rātou **te kākano** ki a tātou* (mbc067).

That’s the most important thing, they have, have given us the seed.

Here a reporter is introducing an item about an initiative for Māori Language Year. In this case the seed has not been planted, but sown.

***He kākano** tēnei i **ruia** e Te Taura Whiri mō Te Tau o Te Reo* (mbc058).

This is a seed sown by the Language Commission for Māori Language Year.

Seeds cannot only be planted or sown, but they can also flower. Here the speaker is talking about various Māori initiatives throughout the country.

*Ka kite tonu rā tātou, kua, kua **puāwai** haere tonu ngā whakaaro, **ngā kākano**, me kī, kua **ruia** nei e te iwi Māori i roto i tēnā rohe, tēnā rohe, tēnā rohe* (mbc099).

We are still seeing that the ideas are still flowering, the seeds, let’s say, that have been sown here by the Māori people in every district.

If any kind of initiative can be described as a seed, so too can the Māori language, for unlike other languages with a secure native speaker population, Māori has suffered decline and is now the focus of revitalisation efforts. Thus the language is associated with its revitalisation initiatives. Here the speaker pays tribute to a teacher renowned for his Māori language textbooks.

*Nā Hoani Waititi i **whakatō te kākano** reo Māori ki ngā kura o Aotearoa* (mbc264).

It was Hoani Waititi who planted the seed of the Māori language in New Zealand schools.

In this example the seed (language) was planted into schools. The following example follows the more conventional idea of the language being implanted into people.

*I **whāngaihia**, i homai nei, i **whakatōngia** tērā reo i roto i te iwi Māori anake. Kia kaha tātou ki te pupuri* (mbc232).

That language was fed, given to us, planted solely in the Māori people. We should be strong at retaining it.

Not only can the language be planted but, as a seed, it can also grow and flower, as shown in this excerpt.

*Mā ēnei āhuatanga ka **tupu**, ka **puāwai**, ka mau te reo me ōna tikanga* (mbc097).

Through these aspects the language and its customs grows, flowers, and is retained.

There are also examples in the corpus in which people are described as plants. In the following example the young speaker of Māori likens himself to a seed who has a long way to grow. He is talking about the continuation of Māori customs in modern times.

*He uaua mā ngā tāngata, mā **ngā kākano** pēnei i a au* (mbc228).

It's hard for people, for the seeds like me.

With the informants we were also introduced to the idea that people themselves could be plants who grow as a result of having a seed planted inside them. This idea is expressed by the following speaker who introduces each of his radio programmes with a thought for the day. In this example he clearly links the idea of seeds (ideas) planted allowing a person to grow and develop.

*Ko te whakatau mō tēnei ata, **whakatōria he kākano** kia **tipu** ake ai he tangata* (mbc008).

The saying for this morning is, plant a seed so a person will grow.

Here a speaker is referring to someone who has achieved the ultimate pinnacle of growth.

*Kua tae ko **tōna puāwaitanga*** (mbc085).

His flowering has arrived.

In the following example the speaker, a clergyman, uses the extended image of a kūmara seed bed to describe the teaching of clergy. The initiates are the kūmara who are planted in the seed bed (religious teachings).

***He tāpapa**, e kī ai ki a mātou rā ki roto i tēnei rohe, **he tāpapa** koirā **te tāpapa kūmara**, nē? He **whakatō** i **ngā kūmara** kia puta ake i **ngā tipu**, kia pai ai te **whakatō** haere. Nō reira, ka karangahia i roto i tēnei wānanga o tātou, ē, ko **ngā tāpapa** whakaako* (mbc135).

It's a seed bed, according to us in this district, a *tāpapa*, that's a kūmara bed, eh? To plant the kūmara so that the shoots will appear, so it will grow well. Therefore, in this wānanga [symposium] of ours it has been called, hey, the seed beds of teaching.

This example neatly reverses the idea of the parable of the sower in the Bible where the seed was the word of God and the soil was the believer.

With the informants we were also introduced to the idea that people themselves could be plants who grow and flower as a result of exposure to the Māori language. I could find no examples of the linking of the growth of people to the Māori language in the corpus. This is not surprising for two reasons. Firstly, since most of the speakers in the corpus were native speakers it would not be in their experience to talk about ‘growing’ as a result of exposure to the Māori language. In addition, because 1995 was Māori Language Year and the Māori language was a frequent topic in the source files there is more of an emphasis on the language itself ‘growing.’ Broadcasting, by its very nature, tends to orientate speakers towards a more rhetorical position where they are more likely, say, when talking about Māori language, to give an overview rather than talk from a personal perspective.

8.6.4 Other Māori sources

The pervasiveness of the growth metaphor in the Māori language is reflected in the fact that the image of growth features on the covers of the four books which comprise the first edition of the foremost Māori language textbook series *Te whanake* (Moorfield 1988, 1989, 1992, 1996) (Figure 8.1).²³⁵

The title of the series, *Te whanake*, means ‘to grow, spring up’ (H. W. Williams 1971: 487) and the growth image is continued through the individual book titles as well as the cover art. The image on the cover of the first book, *Te kākano*, (the seed) features a seed planted in the soil under a New Zealand landscape. The soil consists of Māori words, in other words the soil is the Māori language. Because the seed is drawn with a human face the image conveys the idea that the language learner is a seed and the potential that the language learner has for growing in a Māori language environment.

On the second book, *Te pihinga*, (the sprout), the seed has put down roots and sprouted in the fertile conditions. On the cover of the third book, *Te māhuri*, (the sapling) we now start to recognise that the plant is, in fact, the native New Zealand cabbage tree (*tī kouka*). On the final book in the series, *Te kōhure*, (‘the development of a tree or plant to maturity’) (Moorfield 2004: 261) the plant is now a fully formed flowering native tree and is being admired by the local wildlife.

²³⁵ The covers for the second edition of this series are based on the path metaphor and were discussed in chapter 5.

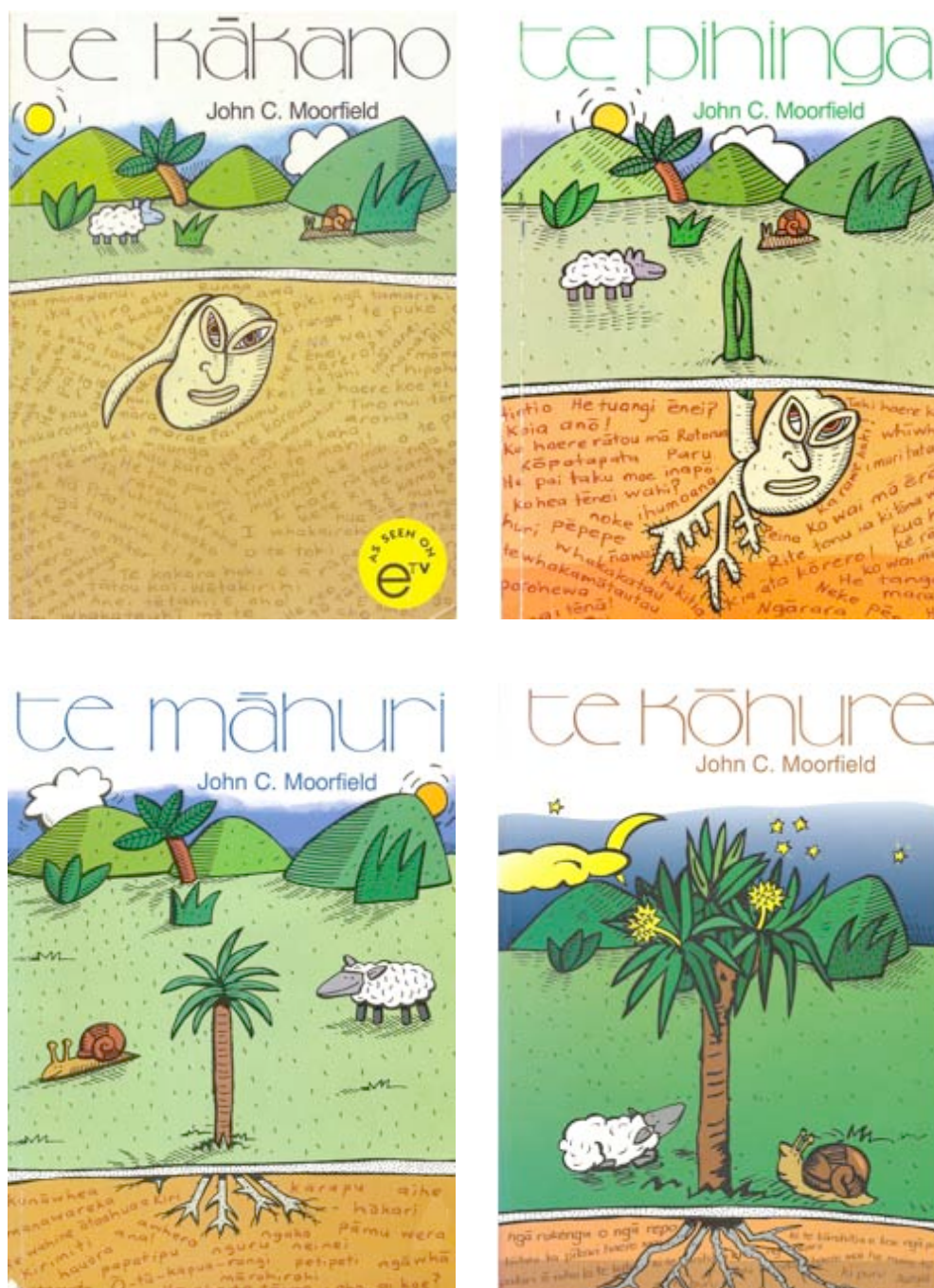


Figure 8.1. Cover images from the four books which comprise the first edition of the Te whanake series of Māori Language textbooks.

The overall message is that Māori language nourishes the learner who will grow and flower into a mature and admired person. This image implies that language will help the learner to attain their identity, self-esteem and full potential. Thus the books are a visual representation of the metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and LANGUAGE IS AN ENVIRONMENT echoing two of the metaphors used by the informants. In this way the images reverse the image given in the biblical parable of the sower where the person is the soil and the seed is the word of God. In this way

these books focus on the growth of the individual (for the individual is the seed which is growing) rather than on the growth of the language.

In a rather similar way Te Wharehuia Milroy describes how the advanced Māori language training institute, Te Panekiretanga, of which he is a part, plants the language and associated customs into the students.

*Ko tā mātou he **whakatō** i te whakaaro, he **whakatō** i ngā kupu, he **whakatō** i ngā tikanga ki roto i tēnā, i tēnā* (Milroy, in Epiha 2006).

What we do is to plant the idea, plant the words, plant the customs in each one of them.

The implication here is that this planting will result in growth of the individual. The following example links planting with spiritual aspects of Māori culture associated with the ancestors.

***Whakatōngia** te wairua o ō tātou tūpuna ki roto ki ā tātou tamariki, mokopuna* (Rangi Marsh, in Te Kōhanga Reo Trust Incorporated 1984: 13).

Plant the spirit of our ancestors into our children and grandchildren.

There are also examples where Māoridom as a whole is seen as growing. In the annual report of the Department of Māori Affairs in 1984, Tāmati Reedy makes much use of the growth metaphor. In a section headed 'Te Pu, Te Weu' (the root, the rootlet) he begins by saying that

The philosophy of Tū Tangata over the last 5 years has **rooted** a new-found confidence and a will to action in Māoridom (Department of Māori Affairs 1984: 3).

Thus, Māori people as a whole are seen as a plant which has taken new root. Further on Reedy adds the following comment.

It is evident that **the tree** is well **rooted** and sustenance for vigorous and enduring **growth** is required (Department of Māori Affairs 1984: 3).

There are also examples where it the Māori language itself is seen as a growing seed.

The Director and staff ... congratulates the Kōhanga Reo Trust Inc. ... for bringing together ... 1,260 members to learn how to nurture **the Māori seed**, Te Reo, in this modern day and age (Te Kōhanga Reo Trust Incorporated 1984: 1).

8.6.5 Summary

In a study of the use of metaphors in literature concerning ethnic relations in New Zealand Sissons (1992) found Māori culture described in five metaphorical ways. One of these he described as ‘culture is a living organism’, a variant of the IDEAS ARE PLANTS conceptual metaphor that we have been studying. Sissons noted that this metaphor emphasised the ‘contemporary ‘living’ nature of Māori culture’ (1992: 27).

The late 20th century sources analysed here reflect the ‘living’ nature of both Māori culture and Māori language. In the many examples of the IDEAS ARE PLANTS metaphor most describe Māori culture as either growing or flowering. Similarly, there are a number of examples where the Māori language is described as a growing plant.

While there were also some examples of the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor in these writings they were few in number and focused on the idea of inner potentials and linking present growth to the existence of a firm taproot into the past. There were no examples of individuals growing as a result of exposure to the Māori language so in this way these relatively contemporary sources did not reflect the ideas produced by the informants.

8.7 Discussion

I looked to them for guidance, particularly in respect of my **growing** Māoriness
(P. Pōtiki 2001: 81).

The late 20th century has been a time of exploration and development by many of the younger generations of Māori who grew up removed from a Māori cultural environment. Many, like Paul Pōtiki above, look to the past, to the elders, to provide links and guidance for their quest for cultural identity. For adult second language learners such as the informants in this study Māori language is an important part of this cultural awakening. When talking about the Māori language they use metaphors involving growth to place emphasis on their own growth. Pōtiki's quote also implies that this growth is ongoing.

We have seen that there are no real traditional Māori precedents for the way the informants use the growth metaphor. Instead, Biblical literature is the major influence in this regard, with examples of both metaphors IDEAS ARE PLANTS and PEOPLE ARE PLANTS used in the Bible in ways similar to how these metaphors are used by the informants.

Images centered on growth have also been used in the Native American situation where Cheyenne people without the language have been described as empty husks, which would presumably be plump and full if they had access to the language. Northern Cheyenne elders opine that when children

reach us, when they are born, they are going to be relegated to being mere husks, empty shells. They are going to look Cheyenne, have Cheyenne parents but they won't have the language which is going to make them truly Cheyenne (quote from Littlebear in Reyhner 1997: vii).

These empty husks are seeds without a kernel inside them, they are not proper seeds. According to this quote these children cannot grow without their language.

Most commonly though the idea of language promoting growth appears in other indigenous language contexts with quite a different application. Instead of an emphasis on the idea that PEOPLE ARE PLANTS (as in the quote above), there is more of a focus on the metaphor IDEAS ARE PLANTS. Here, for example, House and Reyhner are talking about some of the strengths of adult language programmes and describe 'small classes as seeds with the likelihood of rich harvests in the future' (House & Reyhner 1996: 143). Here it is the class which is the seed that will grow and

flourish in the future. The harvest mentioned is the revitalisation of the respective language, so it is the language itself which is growing.

Sujata Bhatt (1997) in a poem about her first language, Gujarati, talks about the pain of losing her native language when immersed in an English speaking culture. However Bhatt discovers that her native language is not dead after all, as one night, as she is dreaming,

it **grows** back, **a stump of a shoot** ...
the bud opens, **the bud** opens in my mouth,
 it pushes the other tongue aside.
 Everytime I think I have forgotten,
 I think I have lost the mother tongue,
 it **blossoms** out of my mouth.

In Bhatt's case it is not she who is growing but her Gujarati language. Thus, as a native speaker who temporarily loses the use of her language, she describes her reconnection with it in terms of the LANGUAGE IS A PLANT metaphor, a subset of the IDEAS ARE PLANTS conceptual metaphor. She does not employ the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor. This idea is also explored by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 52-53) who uses the symbol of a water lily to describe different aspects of bilingualism. Her pictorial representation of the following description is shown in Figure 8.2 below.

When we hear the child speak, we see only what is above the surface of the water, **the water lily** itself. ... But **the roots** of the mother tongue lie deep beneath the surface. ... If ... the child has forced upon her education in the foreign language the development of **the flower** of the mother tongue may easily be interrupted ... [and] **the roots** of the mother tongue will not be sufficiently **nourished** or they may gradually be **cut off** altogether. ... And if **the roots** have been **cut off**, nothing permanent can **grow** any more (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 52).

It is clear from this quote that Skutnabb-Kangas that the water lilies represent the growth of the individual's language, not the individual themselves.

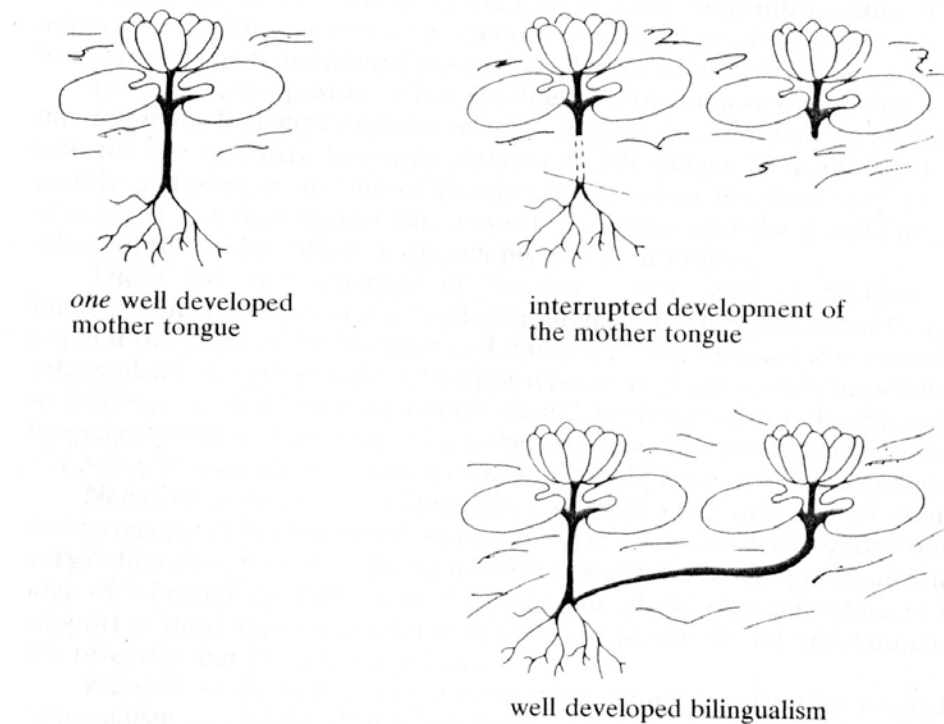


Figure 8.2. Waterlilies representing different manifestations of bilingualism (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 53).

When using the image of ‘growth’ there is a substantial focus in the Native American rhetoric on the growth of the language, culture, or people as a whole rather than the individual. We have also seen in Bhatt’s poem and Skutnabb-Kangas’s image as well as in other late 20th century New Zealand sources, particularly the Māori Broadcast Corpus, that many commentators tend to produce more rhetorically orientated utterances which focus more on the growth of the language rather than the individual. This is in direct contrast with our informants where the growth image is applied to the individual language learner. The informants for this study do not feel that, as individuals, they are important for the long term future of the language. The language may be important to them, but they do not valorise their own role in its revitalisation. Revitalisation for them starts with themselves.

In the wider world the growth metaphor, like the path metaphor, is almost ubiquitous. Everybody, everywhere is ‘growing’ in the same way that our informants are. In a study about how people talked about their careers El-Sawad (2005) found that ten of his twenty informants used horticultural metaphors. In all cases, because the informants were talking about themselves, their emphasis was on talking about their own growth as individuals, rather than the ‘growth’ of the company. Similarly Cortazzi and Jin noted that the growth metaphor was the third most frequent metaphor used by teacher trainees to talk about how they envisioned teaching (1999: 163).

The growth metaphor features strongly in several humanist philosophies of the twentieth century, and by ‘the growth metaphor’ we mean that related to the conceptual metaphor PEOPLE ARE PLANTS as expressed by the informants. For example, Stanley Ivie (2003) notes the strong use of the growth metaphor in the writings of philosopher John Dewey. Dewey says:

We live not in a settled and finished world, but in one which is going on (Dewey 1916: 178).

That is, life and we as people are continually changing, and by changing we mean having opportunities for personal growth. If we also think about the ‘ideas’ that our informants are following, that is, a Māori kaupapa, the following words of Dewey’s also have resonance.

Ideas are statements not of what is or has been but of acts to be performed ... ideas are worthless except as they pass into actions which rearrange and reconstruct in some way, be it little or large, the world in which we live (Dewey 1929: 133).

This philosophy chimes in well with how the informants see themselves in relation to the Māori language. The Māori language is an ‘act to be performed’ in that it involves action and commitment in the here and now. Another noted humanist philosopher whose ideas also feature growth is Abraham Maslow. His hierarchy of needs (described in section 2.2) features two types of human needs. Lower order needs such as physiological needs are deficiency needs, that is, without things like air, food, water and so on we would die. Higher order needs are growth needs, the needs we follow in order to fulfil our potential.

When lower needs have been satisfied, the person seeks to act upon higher needs. Thus growth comes into play. Growth is basic to self-actualization (Ivie 2003: 105).

Not only is it good to survive, but it is also good (preferred, chosen, good-for-the-organism) for the person to grow toward full humanness, toward actualization of his potentialities (Maslow 1970: 104).

There is almost a moral dimension to the idea of growing in that growth is expected of us and that we should do all that we can to ensure that our potential for growth is actualised.

Because the world is one of constant change and flux, no fixed or attainable goals can be established as moral ideals. The reality of life is the growth process itself. To be growing is what is meant by the good. Actions are good if they contribute to growth; they are bad if they restrict or retard growth (Ivie 2003: 62).

Education is a key area where one's growth potential can be actualised. According to Ivie 'Maslow viewed education as being synonymous with growth' (2003: 112). This works well alongside the reality of the second language informants in this study. Most are teachers and are involved not only in their own education, but also the education of others, particularly children. One of the most striking aspects of the Māori language revitalisation is its strong association with the education system, from kōhanga reo through to wānanga. Opportunities for learning and reinforcing one's knowledge of the Māori language are available from the cradle to the grave.

Figure 8.3 shows a cartoon which talks about Māori growth. The cartoon shows the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Helen Clark and the Minister of Finance, Michael Cullen as gardeners concerned about growing Māori political expectations.

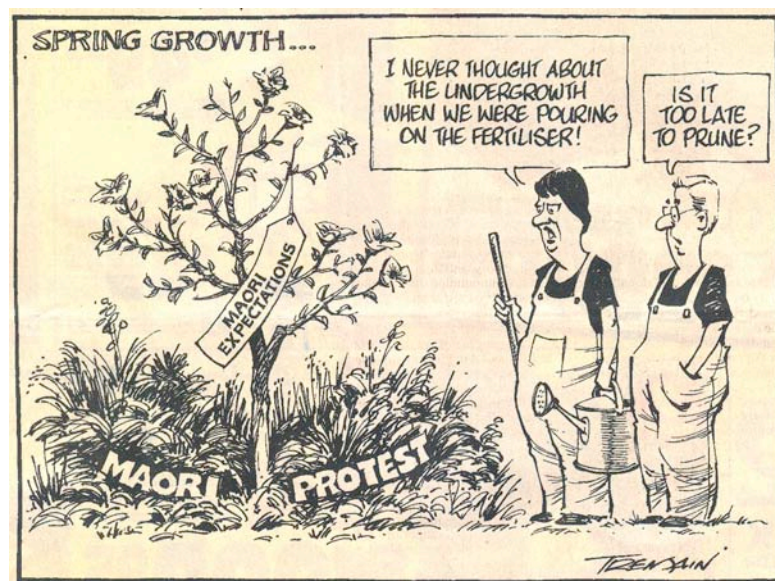


Figure 8.3. Cartoon by Garrick Tremain (2003).

The Māori protest movement of the 1970s (the undergrowth) has allowed a number of Māori focused initiatives such as kōhanga reo to grow (become trees). Māori language and Māori culture have also 'grown' with more awareness and interest throughout New Zealand, particularly, of course, in Māori communities. Much of the rhetoric about the Māori language concerns the Māori language as 'growing', using the IDEAS ARE PLANTS conceptual metaphor as is shown in this cartoon. However, as we have seen in this chapter the second language informants, in talking about their own personal relationship with the Māori language, focus more on talking about their own growth, and idea which is linked to the Bible and 20th century humanist philosophies.

Chapter 9: Discussion

This chapter draws together the analysis presented in chapters four to eight to examine the wider context of the experience of the newly-fluent adult speakers of Māori in this study. Section 9.1 gives an overview of the metaphor analysis from chapters five to eight. The data presented in the previous chapters suggests a number of interrelated hypotheses which are explained and explored with further examples in sections 9.2 and 9.3. Section 9.2 examines four interconnected aspects which allow the informants to maintain a strong worldview. Section 9.3 investigates individualised aspects to the informants' experience and contrasts this with the experience of native speakers of Māori, language planners in New Zealand, and some speakers of North American indigenous languages.

9.1 Introduction

The experience of the second language informants in this study is different to that of many Māori of preceding and succeeding generations in that they belong to an in-between generation who did not have the opportunity of growing up in a Māori language environment. In chapters five to eight we saw how the motivations of this group are revealed through their use of metaphors which they use to describe their relationship with the Māori language. These metaphors allow the informants to talk about three aspects of their involvement with the Māori language:

- a. an initial state of being without the heritage language,
- b. an engagement with the language, and
- c. a continuing relationship with the language.

Table 9.1 shows how each of the four main metaphors used by the informants to talk about their relationship with the Māori language contain mappings which allow all three of these aspects to be described.

concept	metaphor	initial state	engagement	ongoing relationship	formulaic phrase
journey	language is a path	lost	get on path	follow path	<i>runga i te huarahi whai i te reo/huarahi</i>
food	language is a canoe	lost	get on canoe	paddle	<i>eke ki runga</i>
	language is food	hungry	being fed	feeding others	-
growth	language learner is a plant	not growing	growing	blossoming	-

Table 9.1. Metaphors used by newly-fluent speakers of Māori to express their relationship with the Māori language.

Firstly, the metaphors allow the informants to talk about an initial state of being without the heritage language, a time before they began to learn Māori. As shown in Table 9.1, the words the informants use to describe this condition emphasise a lack in the informants' lives: they describe themselves as being lost, hungry or not growing. All three concepts contain connotations of great need and deprivation which the informants proceed to rectify.

At some point in their adult life the informants made a conscious decision to learn the language. Again, this experience is different from older and younger generations whose acquisition of Māori in their childhood was unconscious and beyond their control or ken. In learning the Māori language, the informants talk of getting on a path or a canoe, or being fed or growing. Getting on a path or a canoe has connotations of becoming part of a movement, taking a particular route and heading for a particular destination. Being fed or growing have connotations of normalcy, counteracting previous need and deprivation, and being in the right condition for living properly in the world.

The informants in this study have not learnt the language for a short period; they have made a serious commitment to learn and achieve a level of fluency in Māori. The metaphors the informants in this study use enable them to talk about their long-term commitment to the Māori language by saying that they are following a path, paddling a canoe, feeding others or flowering. Following a path or paddling a canoe have connotations of a direction or purpose. These metaphors link in with the idea of the informants adhering to a purposeful worldview which inspires and maintains their commitment to the Māori language. The idea of feeding others ties in with the informants' roles as parents and teachers in passing the language on to others in their immediate environment and the idea of flowering is consistent with humanist ideas of self actualisation and fulfilling one's potential as a human being.

These metaphors are typical of the 'folk ideas' which Dundes argues are 'units of worldview' (Dundes 1971). Accordingly, the experience of these informants suggests a number of interrelated hypotheses about the nature of language revitalisation among newly-fluent adults:

- that adult language learners need a powerful rhetoric and worldview to sustain an ongoing commitment to their heritage language. In New Zealand this rhetoric draws on four elements:
 - a quasi-religious worldview
 - New Age humanism
 - connection with ancestors
 - connection with a *kaupapa* Māori philosophy

- that the worldview of these adult language learners is based on their experience as individuals, which, in a context where the language is spoken well by 65,000 speakers, means that:
 - the focus of language learners will be different to that of both language planners and native speakers of the language
 - that the more people who know and are learning the language, the more the beneficial effect on the individual is emphasised. Conversely, the fewer people that know and are learning the language the more the beneficial effect on the language is emphasised

Will look at these two hypotheses in turn and illustrate some of their major features with supportive evidence.

9.2 A powerful worldview

Reversing language shift is basically not about language, certainly not *just* about language; it is about adhering to a notion of a complete, not necessarily unchanging, self-defining way of life (Fishman 2000: 14).

One common factor that languages undergoing revitalisation have in common is a group of language fanatics, people who are passionately dedicated to revitalising their heritage language. In New Zealand there are many Māori, like the informants in this study, who are devoted to becoming fluent second language speakers of Māori. These people are typically involved with the teaching profession and have children who they are raising in a Māori speaking environment.

The zeal which these adult second language learners have for the language is something that they have maintained for a number of years. An examination of the metaphors the informants use shows that they articulate a system of beliefs to which they adhere. These beliefs, with their quasi-religious nature and aspects of New Age humanism, underpin a connection with Māori culture and ancestors as well as linking into a Māori-focused worldview.

- **Quasi-religious worldview.** Besides the undoubted biblical background to many of the metaphors used by the informants, the sort of commitment held by the informants, if it is to be long-term, needs to have aspects of religious fervour.
- **New Age humanism.** The metaphors used by the informants link in with New Age and humanist philosophies which have become pervasive in Western culture.
- **Link with ancestors and Māori culture.** Motivation to become fluent in a heritage language needs to have some basis in the integrative function of language. The

informants articulate a strong link that they feel the Māori language gives them with parents, grandparents and ancestors as well as the intangibles of Māori culture.

- **Kaupapa Māori philosophy.** These newly-fluent adult speakers of Māori are exponents of a Māori-focused ideology which is particularly associated with Māori immersion schooling initiatives.

Evidence for each of these aspects of the informants' worldview will be presented and discussed in the following sections.

9.2.1 Religious aspects

Māoritanga itself has become a sort of religion (Mead 1979: 63).

Religious beliefs, particularly Christian ones, play an important role in Māori society. To function adequately in Māori situations it is important to be able to lead *karakia* (prayers) at the beginning of meetings. These prayers are often Christian and are typically followed by one of a selection of ten or so well-known Māori hymns. It is not uncommon for Māori elders to describe the Māori language as coming from God, as shown in the following quote from Te Wharehuia Milroy.²³⁶

Nā Te Atua tēnei reo i homai ki a tātou, he aha e whakarere ai i a tātou? Ki te whakarere tātou i tō tātou reo ka whakarere tātou i Te Atua ... kua kore hoki koe e whakapono ki tō reo kua kore koe e whakapono ki Te Atua. Tēhea atua tāu e kōrero ana kei a koe te tikanga. Engari nā Te Atua tēnei i homai ki ahau (Milroy, in Epiha 2006).

It was God who gave this language to us, so why would we abandon it? If we abandon our language we abandon God ... and if you don't have faith in your language you don't have faith in God. Which God it is that you are talking about is up to you. Nevertheless it was God who gave this [language] to me.

Despite the allowance that the God being referred to depends on the religious beliefs of the individual, it is clear that Milroy himself is referring to a monotheistic entity. Milroy's sentiments are widely held, with Cleve Barlow stating in a book which explains various aspects of Māori culture, that 'according to the Māori, their language is sacred because it was given to their ancestors by the gods' (*ko te reo Māori he reo tapu i homai e ngā atua ki ngā tūpuna*) (Barlow 1994: 112 & 114).

²³⁶ Another example is the well-known prayer for the Māori language year composed by Sir Kingi Ihaka in 1987 for the launching of the Māori Language Commission (*Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori* 2007: 5) which refers to *te Kīngi tahi nā me te Tama me te Wairua Tapu* (the Father, Son and Holy Spirit).

However the role of Christianity and missionaries in particular, has either been vilified or ignored both in popular and academic contemporary literature.

It is fair to say that Māori Christianity is largely *mana kore*, without honour, among New Zealand historians, and the subject is little pursued (Head 2005: 60).

We have seen that the informants' use of metaphor often contains elements derived from the Bible, so that it is possible to say that Christianity maintains an important influence in Māori culture. In this section we will investigate the role quasi-religious beliefs play in the worldview held by the informants. Such beliefs are not uncommon in other language revitalisation situations with Fishman, for example, noting a religious aspect to how people talk about their heritage language.

They tell you some things about the sanctity of the language. ... People tell you metaphors of holiness (Fishman 1996: 82).

As Fishman also notes, religious devotion to a language can be a powerful motivator.

Religion both motivates and activates. Wherever it is encountered, it concomitantly provides a powerful and even an unquestionable rhetoric and an inspirational imagery (Fishman 1997: 27).

Among the informants it seems that the idea of learning and being committed to the Māori language is like being committed to a religious belief. A number of informants expressed the idea that involvement in Māori language immersion situations had a spiritual dimension and it seems that for many of the informants Māori language is a spiritual quest for identity, health and wholeness. Being involved in learning the Māori language opens up a new world.

I te wā ka tīmata au i te ako i te reo, he ao anō ... te ao mārama (Rau).

When I started to learn the [Māori] language, it was another world ... the world of light.

'The world of light' is a phrase which has positive connotations both in the traditional Māori and biblical worldviews. The following two sub-sections illustrate the quasi-religious and biblical nature of the informants' worldview through an examination of their use of the word *wairua* in association with the Māori language (section 9.2.1.1), and the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS WATER which has religious connotations (section 9.2.1.2).

9.2.1.1 The *wairua* of the Māori language

The quasi-religious nature of the informants' relationship with the Māori language is illustrated through an examination of their use of the word *wairua* (spirit)²³⁷ when talking about the Māori language. In the following example Karihi is talking about a time when he was drinking heavily, before he became involved with the Māori language.

Engari, nā te kaha o tōku mahi, i kore au i tipu. I kore tōku wairua i tipu
(Karihi).

But because I was heavily engaged in that activity I didn't grow. My spirit didn't grow.

This quote implies that Karihi's *wairua* is now growing because of his involvement with the Māori language. In other words, the Māori language was associated with improving the spiritual aspects of his life.

In this excerpt Karihi describes what a powerful effect the welcome ceremony to a residential alcohol recovery programme had on him.

Nō reira ka mihi mai rātou ki a au. Ka pōwhiri mai. Ka noho au i reira, i mua i a rātou. Ka pā mai te wairua Māori ki a au. Ka tangi te ngākau ki te whakarongo ki tō tātou reo rangatira (Karihi).

So they greeted me. They welcomed me. I sat there, in front of them. The Māori spirit touched me. My heart cried to listen to our chiefly language.

This description has resonances of a conversion experience, a powerful emotional and spiritual awakening, signalling a change in a person's life. In Karihi's case this experience was linked with Māori language and culture.

Bub described the language as providing access to the spiritual world.

Ki a au nei, nā ki ōku nei whakaaro, ko te reo he waka wairua (Bub).

I think, in my opinion, the [Māori] language is a spiritual canoe.

In another example Karihi talks about how the spiritual aspects of his involvement with the Māori language are long-term.

He haerenga i runga i te wairua tēnei (Karihi).

This is a spiritual journey.

²³⁷ H. W. Williams 1971: 477.

Peter sees that his *wairua* benefits from the whole language immersion situation.

Pai mō tōku whakaaro, mō tōku tinana, mō tōku wairua. Ko te wā tuatahi e mōhio ana koe he Māori (Peter).

It's good for my thoughts, for my body, for my spirit. It was the first time that I knew that I was Māori.

As Fishman notes, in other language situations 'not infrequently, the language itself is recognized as having a spirit or soul of its own' (Fishman 1997: 13). This statement was expressed in Māori by Anaru.

He wairua tō te reo Māori (Anaru).

The Māori language has a spirit.

The informants typically feel that speaking in the Māori language invests one's thoughts with a deeper, spiritual meaning.

It's like in any language they've got **their own wairua** ... there's a whole lot of other things that come into Māori language than just words (Pukeora).

Te Hata associates speaking the Māori language with a spiritual joy.

Engari, kei te mōhio i tēnei, i ahau e kōrero Māori ana, ka hākoakoa rawa te ngākau. Kāore i te tino mōhio he aha i pērā ai, engari, he mea ā-wairua pea (Te Hata).

But, I know this, when I am speaking Māori, my heart is extremely happy. I don't really know why that is, but, maybe it's a spiritual thing.

Accordingly, we can say that the experience of many of the informants fits a model of religious conversion and belief in that they link the Māori language with major life changes and a feeling of ongoing spiritual connection and joy. Considering this aspect of their experience such newly-fluent adults could well be described as language 'fanatics.' The word 'fanatic' is particularly appropriate because of its religious connotations: a 'fanatic' literally being a 'temple worshipper', that is, someone with religious zeal.²³⁸ Further evidence of this fanaticism comes from one of the male informants, Awanui, who made a New Year's resolution at the beginning of 1995 (Māori Language Year) to only speak Māori for the whole year. This aim might seem unrealistic, especially considering that Awanui's lifestyle involved a certain amount of travel around New Zealand by means of soliciting rides from strangers. Nevertheless, Awanui was able to achieve

²³⁸ The word *fanatic* comes from the Latin word *fanum* which means 'temple' (Thompson 1995: 487).

his resolution by dint of his broad smile, considerable use of gesture and the magnanimity of friends who occasionally acted as translators.

9.2.1.2 Language is water

Another example of how the informants perceive their experience as quasi-religious can be seen in their use of the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS WATER, a subset of the LANGUAGE IS AN ENVIRONMENT metaphor.²³⁹

The idea of immersion in water has a long heritage in both Māori culture and Christianity, with water-based ceremonies being used in both cultures to signal changes from one state to another. In traditional Māori culture water was used to both remove and confer a state of tapu,²⁴⁰ a practice still observed today in the ritual ablutions performed after visiting gravesites.²⁴¹

Water ritually prepared for and marked a change of condition. It washed away the characteristics of one's former state, and thereby paved the way for the institution of a new one (Hanson & Hanson 1983: 77).

Water is also used in the Christian ritual of baptism. Although the practice of baptism is usually associated with babies, baptism of adults is also practised in a number of denominations, with Sheldrake noting that,

the Baptists retain the practice of baptizing adults through the ritual of total immersion, and ... place ... [great] emphasis on the experience of being born again. Indeed, their form of Christianity is centered on this conversion experience (1991: 188).

Therefore, in both traditional Māori and Christian contexts immersion in water carries connotations of rebirth and a changed life state.

The most basic formulation of the LANGUAGE IS WATER metaphor in Māori is through the use of the word *rumaki*, to immerse. This word is used to refer to Māori language immersion programmes in educational settings.²⁴² Indeed, the word *rumaki* has become so much a part of

²³⁹ The LANGUAGE IS AN ENVIRONMENT metaphor is also discussed in section 8.1.1.2.

²⁴⁰ Tapu is a state of religious restriction (H. W. Williams 1971: 385).

²⁴¹ For an explanation of the use of water in Māori ceremonies see J. Smith 1974.

²⁴² The word 'immersion' has generally superseded use of the word 'bilingual' in the New Zealand setting because the word 'bilingual' is associated with overseas education programmes designed to allow the child to make the transition from a home and community heritage language to a language of wider communication (Keegan 1996: 1).

modern Māori that it has become a dead metaphor, the metaphoric connotations of the word being below the level of consciousness.²⁴³

The widespread use of the words ‘rumaki’ and ‘immersion’ in the education context in New Zealand has undoubtedly influenced the use of water as a source domain in describing the newly-fluent speaker’s experience. Besides the word *rumaki*, five informants used variations of three other Māori words, *ruku* (to dive), *kaukau* (to bathe) and *hōhonu* (deep) to convey the idea that the Māori language was water. In the following quote Bub has been talking about how she first became involved in learning the Māori language.

*So, ka peke, ka **ruku** au ki roto i te **hōhonu** o te moana* (Bub).

So, I jumped, I dived into the depths of the sea.

Similarly Awanui used the word *ruku* to describe his initiation into the Māori language world. He describes this world as connecting him with his ancestors.

*I **ruku** tonu au. I ētehi wā ... i whakaaro au i roto i tētahi atu ao, nē? Kua tau mai ngā tūpuna ki aku taha* (Awanui).

I kept diving. Sometimes ... I thought I was in another world, eh? The ancestors came to my side.

The word *ruku* is used to describe the initial encounter with the Māori language. Further involvement with the Māori language can be described through the use of a word such as *kaukau*, to swim. Here one informant, Karihi, uses the word *kaukau* to describe how he struggled to keep up when learning the language from a native speaker.

*Nō reira e kaha ana te rere mai o tōna reo. I reira a māua e **kaukau** ana* (Karihi).

So her language was so fast. We were there swimming.

Several informants used the word *hōhonu*, deep, or one of its derivative forms, to convey the idea that the Māori language is deep.

*Engari, arā noa atu te **hōhonutanga** o te reo Māori: i roto i te kōrero kanohi ki kanohi noa iho, nē* (Watson).

But, that’s just the depths of the Māori language: in speaking face to face, eh.

²⁴³ Te Wharehuia Milroy claims to have first used the word *rumaki* to refer to language immersion at a meeting with Māori staff from Waikato University and ‘The Waikato Polytechnic when we were discussing strategies for language teaching and learning. Katarina Mataira then utilised it for Te Atarangi and other immersion teaching programmes’ (Te Wharehuia Milroy, personal communication, 14 May 2001).

The idea of depth also evokes associations with ancestral knowledge which is lauded for its pre-eminence.

Engari ahakoa tēnā, kei ngā kaumātua, kei ngā koroua, ngā kuia te hōhonutanga o te reo. Nā reira me ngana tonu koe ki te whakapiri atu ki a rātou, nā te mea kei reira te hōhonutanga o te reo (Watson).

But despite that, it's the ancestors, the male and female elders who have the depths of the [Māori] language. So you should keep trying to get close to them, because the depth of the language is with them.

The word *hōhonu* is also associated with the language of native speakers which is seen as being superior to that of second language learners.

Mena i a koe e tipu ana i te ao Māori, i te reo Māori, ko te nuinga o ō whakaaro i te reo Māori, he hōhonu te kaupapa, he hōhonu te kōrero (Pukeora).

If you are growing up in the Māori world, in the Māori language, most of your thinking is in the Māori language and the issues and the words will be deep.

Figure 9.1 shows an advertisement for a Māori language degree at the University of Waikato which visually features the idea of immersion in the Māori language.

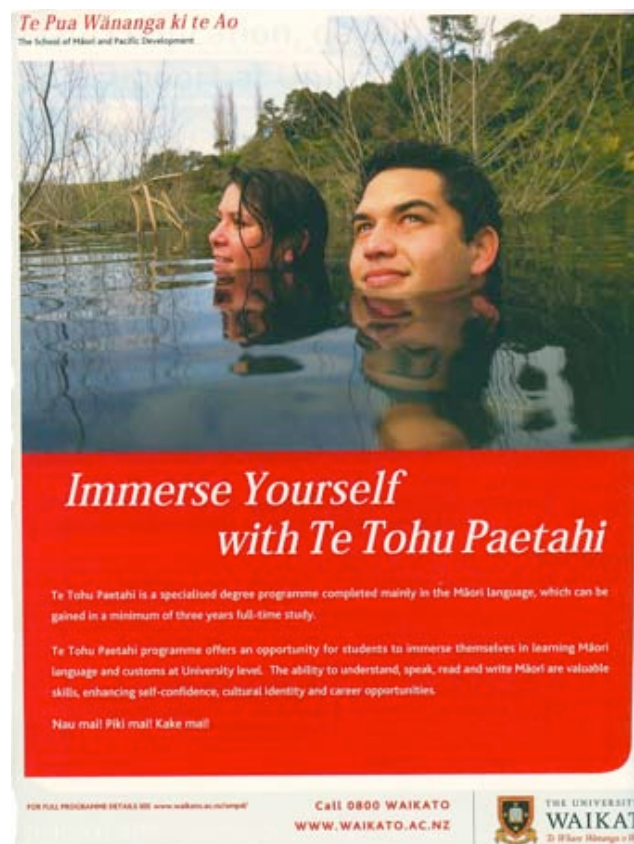


Figure 9.1. Advertisement for the University of Waikato (University of Waikato 2004).

This image links ideas of cleansing and rebirthing with the Māori language and highlights the quasi-religious nature of the informants' experience.

Accordingly, for second language learners such as those in this study the word 'renaissance' aptly describes their experience. 'Renaissance' is derived from the French word *naissance* which in turn is derived from the Latin word *nascentia*, both of which mean 'birth' (Thompson 1995: 1163). **Renaissance** therefore literally means 'rebirth.' The experience described by many of the informants, especially in their engagement with the Māori language, sounds very much like a spiritual rebirth.

You sort of get initiated into ... into the wider whānau, eh. We're sort of like the converted, in a way (Karihi).

However for former Māori Language Commissioner and native speaker of Māori, Tīmoti Kāretu, the word 'renaissance' holds no resonance.

I, personally, consider the term 'renaissance' to be inappropriate, because people have continued to speak Māori and to conduct their lives in a Māori way (Kāretu 1993: 225).

The reason why the word 'renaissance' seems to be a misnomer for Kāretu is because he is applying the word to the Māori language itself, rather than the speakers. What he means is that there is no such thing as Māori language revitalisation, that is, a 'rebirth' of the Māori language, because the language has never actually died. The Māori language has always had speakers. However, the word 'renaissance' is more properly applied not to the language or culture, but to the individuals who make up the community under question. Underlying comments about a 'Māori renaissance', a term which is usually applied to events in the 1980s,²⁴⁴ is the observation that a large number of people, usually adults, have reconnected and become interested in their heritage language and culture. For them the word 'renaissance' can appropriately be applied to their rebirth of interest and commitment to Māori language and culture. Kāretu's sentiments therefore probably resonate for native speakers for whom the link between them and their language and culture has not been broken.

The experience of the newly-fluent informants contrasts with that of the native speaker. All the informants grew up without the Māori language and their involvement with the language is of the

²⁴⁴ The 'Māori renaissance' is a term often applied to events in the 1980s, including the development of kōhanga reo and kura kaupapa Māori as well as the successful *Te Māori* exhibition of traditional art that toured the United States from 1984 to 1986 and was shown in New York, St Louis and Chicago (Mead 1986).

nature of a personal ‘renaissance.’ This is particularly true for four of the informants, Karihi, Stu, Sharon and Awanui, whose entry to the Māori language came through their involvement in Māori focused alcohol and drug recovery programmes. These programmes typically ‘have a Māori kaupapa (“Māori theme”); are primarily for Māori clients; have Māori support and their programme has a high Māori cultural content’ (Huriwai, Sellman, Sullivan and Pōtiki 1998: 145).²⁴⁵ The similarity between heritage language learning and recovery has been noted by Antone, who explains that,

on a continuum there are obviously similarities between the recovery experience and a similar sort of experience which often accompanies becoming a fluent second-language speaker of a heritage language. Some, however, were able to steer themselves away from the drug-and-alcohol road and find wholeness and identity (2002: 52).²⁴⁶

An individual’s engagement with an indigenous language can be akin to the sort of spiritual change which occurs in the life of a recovering addict, in that the prime focus and motivation is a personal, spiritual and emotional relationship, in this case, with a heritage language and culture rather than with God. This ‘born again’ experience with the language is not shared by native speakers but can be an important part of the worldview needed by newly-fluent adults to initiate and sustain their commitment to the heritage language.

From the point of view of the individual it must be a conversion experience, not a citizenship exercise (Golla 2000: 3).

9.2.2 New Age and humanist aspects

At this moment we are who we have been and who we are becoming (Reeves 1990: foreword).

New Age and humanist beliefs and language are pervasive throughout the Western world and have had particular import on indigenous renaissance movements in the last 30 years. Despite being given the name ‘New Age movement’ New Age ideas are not one coherent, stable set of beliefs but the phrase a convenient term applied to the grouping of a number of inter-related, though also widely different groups of beliefs and practices, ranging from channelling, through to crystals and holistic health (Barker 1989: 189). These ideas began spreading through the Western world from the 1960s onwards and some argue that this movement ‘has showed itself to be an

²⁴⁵ An online copy of the book - *Te Iwi Māori me te Inu Waipiro: He Tuhituhinga Hitori Māori & Alcohol: A History* (Hutt 1999) gives an overview of the Māori experience of alcohol is available at <http://newzealand.govt.nz/record?recordid=3683>.

²⁴⁶ Note the use of the journey metaphor in this quotation with the words ‘steer away’, and ‘road.’

important new force in the development of the ever-changing Western culture' (Melton, Clark & Kelly 1990: xiii).²⁴⁷

What most aspects of the range of beliefs which form a part of the New Age movement have in common is that they place 'great emphasis upon self-knowledge, inner exploration, and the participation in a continual transformative process' (Melton 1992: 173). As we have seen in the preceding chapters many of the metaphors used by the informants in this study echo these sentiments.

New Age beliefs connect with secular humanism through the central idea of the focus on the inner life of the individual and the 'belief that people have the answers within' (Elliot Miller cited in Basil 1998: 16). It is not hard to find these sentiments articulated by Māori.

I now know the outside doesn't matter, the substance is within (Nehua 1995: 26).

New Age transformation is often linked to learning, through the use of phrases like 'life is learning' (Lewis 1992: 7-8). We have seen in preceding chapters that the informants often say that their involvement with the Māori language is a life-long one.

Āe, i whakatō i te kākano. I tahuna te ahi. Kei te kirikā tonu te ahi. Āe, te ahi kā roa, me kī, mō te reo (Lovey).

Yes, the seed was planted. The fire was lit. The fire is still burning. Yes, it's a long burning fire, let's say, for the language.

The idea of internal growth and transformation can also be seen in the following poem by Hinewirangi Kohu which was written in the early 1980s at the height of the Māori renaissance. Like our informants, Kohu grew up without the Māori language and as an adult became engaged with Māori language and culture. This poem, with its use of English progressive participles, demonstrates the link between the Māori renaissance and New Age thinking, focussing as it does on the idea of 'being' and 'becoming.'

Am I Māori?

Yes I am

for I have brown skin.

Am I Māori?

Yes I am, they say

for I have curly, black hair.

Am I Māori?

²⁴⁷ For academic analysis on New Age beliefs, see Hanegraff 1998, Heelas 1996, and Melton 1998.

No, my language is English.
 Am I Māori?
 Yes I am
 for now is the awakening
 stirring deep inside my soul
 arising, arising, arising
 seeping through this Pākehā mist
 of many years,
 penetrating the concrete walls,
 reaching down to the rich brown earth
 encased underneath.
 Stirring, stretching, reaching,
 reaching for that tiny seed
 of Māoridom in an ancient past.
 No, not all is lost
 I am becoming Māori
 I will not lose what I am
 what I am awakening to.
 Am I Māori?
 Yes, my heart is telling me so
 crying
 I am Māori (Kohu 1993: 51-52).

At the beginning of the poem Kohu proclaims her identity as Māori through the genetic inheritance of her genealogy (brown skin and curly, black hair). Although she cannot speak Māori this does not, overall, cancel out her claim on Māori identity. Another reason why Kohu claims Māori identity is because of her ‘awakening.’ The effect of the progressive participles such as ‘stirring’, ‘arising’, ‘reaching’, ‘awakening’ is to evoke the idea of transformation and growth, growth which is reinforced through her use of the metaphor MĀORI KNOWLEDGE IS A SEED (‘that tiny seed of Māoridom’). The continuous aspect of verbs emphasises the ongoing and continuous nature of the experience. Just as Kohu talks about an ongoing process of accessing her Māori identity, we have seen in the preceding chapters that our informants use metaphors of process to talk about their ongoing relationship with the Māori language. For native speakers their relationship with the Māori language is unconscious and needs little action on their part whereas these second language adults have made a conscious decision to become involved, and their commitment needs to be ongoing and continuous.

9.2.2.1 The relationship between the path and growth metaphors

This section will examine the informants' use of the path and growth metaphors to further illustrate the link between the informants and New Age thinking. The path and growth metaphors are central to New Age thinking which has a recognizable terminology.

The spiritual dimensions of the New Age enterprise are concealed in secular rhetoric ... yielding, among other things, a distinctive areligious vocabulary that has been infused with spiritual meaning. *Holistic, holographic, synergistic, unity, oneness, transformation, personal growth, human potential, awakening, networking, energy, consciousness.* (Burrows 1985: 5).

Of the words mentioned above the two that have particular resonance for the informants in this study are *transformation* and *personal growth*. Transformation is associated with the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, for in this rhetoric we are said to be on a life journey throughout which we are expected to change and grow, thus linking in with the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor. Thus the linking of the path and growth metaphors represents key ideas in the New Age movement. The path and growth metaphors are pervasive throughout society and it is difficult to have a discussion on human activities without using one or both. That is, the path and growth metaphors often underpin our conceptualisation of the world. These two metaphors are the two of the three most common metaphors employed by the informants, with the path metaphor being used by nineteen informants and the growth metaphor by nine informants. In humanistic terms, talking about a journey leading to growth is talking about individuals undertaking a process which leads to self-actualisation.

An examination of examples from the informants shows that there is a special relationship between these two metaphors, as illustrated with the following quote.

Me haere au i runga i taua huarahi hoki ki te āwhina i a ia. Āe. Ka tīmata au ki te puāwai hoki (Rau).

I should also go on that path to help him. Yes. I also started to flower.

Rau follows a path (learns Māori) and in doing so she flowers (achieves a measure of self-actualisation). The path is a way or means of achieving a change in state from a situation of little or no growth to a situation of growth or achieving the end state of growth, flowering. It is the nature of paths that they are a means of moving from one place (or metaphorically one situation) to another place (or situation). In shorthand form, these two metaphors have overlapping entailments because paths enable change or transformation, and growth is change. This relationship between these two metaphors confirms Lakoff and Johnson's observation that when

metaphors are used in close proximity to each other there is usually an overlap in their entailments (1980: 87-105).

The following example spells out the initial place or situation Karihi was in before he started learning Māori. He is talking about a time when he was drinking heavily.

*Engari, nā te kaha o tōku mahi, i kore au i **tipu**. I kore tōku wairua i **tipu**. Nō reira i whakaaro au me kimihia **tētahi huarahi pai** (Karihi).*

But because I was heavily engaged in that activity I didn't grow. My spirit didn't grow. Therefore, I decided I should look for a good path.

Karihi starts off by describing himself as a plant that wasn't growing. Growth is a natural and normal part of plant physiology and Karihi's lack of growth is not normal or desirable. As a result of a desire to change this situation Karihi describes his resultant activity by means of the path metaphor. A path is a means of getting from one position to another and Karihi wants to get from a position where he isn't growing to one where he is.

In the following example Anaru is talking about how he started learning Māori.

*I reira he kaiako reo Māori, nō reira ka **whai huarahi** ahau kia **puāwai tērā kākano i whakatōngia** e tōku pāpā (Anaru).*

There was a Māori language teacher there, and so I followed that path so that seed planted by my father could bloom.

Although the growth applies to the fulfilment of Anaru's father's wish, the implication is that Anaru himself also grows.

While the linking of these two metaphors by the informants refers to their own growth as individuals these two metaphors are used by language planners and native speakers to refer to the growth of the Māori language as a whole. The following example from the Strategic Plan of the Māori Education Trust links the journey metaphor with the idea that LANGUAGE IS A PLANT.

*Kia kimi **huarahi** kia **puāwai** ai te reo Māori me ōna tikanga (Māori Education Trust 2003: 10).*

To search for a path so that the Māori language and its customs will flower.

In this example the aim is to find a means to enable change (search for a path), with the change being the Māori language achieving a more vibrant state (flowering).

The following words from Te Wharehuia Milroy come from a television documentary in which he explains a language revitalisation initiative.

Kua kitea tētahi huarahi e tae ai te whakatō noa iho i te reo ki roto i te tangata

(Milroy, in Epiha 2006).

A path has been discovered by which it's possible to plant the language inside a person.

The significance of this phrase is that the language revitalisation initiative Milroy is talking about is a method (path) for producing effective speakers of Māori (planting the language). The path enables a change to occur, for people without the Māori language to receive it. Because a seed is implied by the use of the verb 'to plant' the resultant growth can be seen as applying to both the language and the individual.

One important aspect about the New Age use of the path metaphor is that it is the path itself which is important (that is the means) rather than the destination (the end). When we use the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A PATH to talk about our life purpose we talk about a heading, a direction for the path, but we don't usually talk about reaching the final destination. This is because when we talk about our life as a 'path' we don't actually want to reach the final destination, for that can only be death. Accordingly, it is appropriate to use the wording LIFE IS A JOURNEY to describe this conceptual metaphor because the word 'journey' focuses more on the idea of the travelling rather than the destination, a sentiment expressed in the adage 'life is a journey, not a destination.'²⁴⁸

The informants use the path and growth metaphors to talk about a personal relationship they have with the Māori language that is ongoing and beneficial. New Age ideas of personal transformation as illustrated by the combining of the path and growth metaphors are part of the worldview described by the informants. This experience contrasts with that of language planners and native speakers who tend to use the same metaphors to talk about change and benefits for the language itself.

9.2.3 Te reo me ōna tikanga – language and its customs

Language revitalization at its heart involves reestablishing traditional functions of language use (Sims 2005: 104).

²⁴⁸ The phrase 'life is a journey' also has connotations of the expectation of change as we progress through life.

A heritage language is a link to the past, that is, to the ancestors and a traditional way of life. This aspect of heritage language revitalisation is one which is commonly stated in the international literature and it is not surprising that this is one of the key ingredients of the worldview which provides the informants in this study with the impetus to engage with and maintain their involvement with the Māori language. The following two sub-sections investigate how the informants talk about both the link with ancestors and tradition.

9.2.3.1 The link with ancestors

Māori lawyer Joe Williams once asked a kaumātua why the Māori word for the front of an object, *mua*, could also refer to the past, as in the phrase *i ngā wā o mua* (in the past).

The kaumātua replied, 'It is because our ancestors always had their back to the future and their eyes firmly on the past' (J. Williams 1990: 14).

This explanation about the relationship between the temporal and spatial meanings of the word *mua* encapsulates the idea of walking backwards into the future with one's eyes on the ancestral past. The interviews with the informants contain a number of examples of how the informants link their future with the Māori language with ancestral generations.

Firstly, those from former and older generations are venerated as having a special link with the Māori language.

Ā, mōhio ana ko aua wairua kei ō tātou kaumātua, pakeke. Ko rātou e mōhio ana ki te wairua o te reo (Piringākau).

And, I know that those spirits are with our elders and parents. It is they who know about the spirit of the language.

Ancestors are also described as having an important role in providing the informants with the impetus to learn the Māori language.

Nā rātou i whakatō i te wairua ki roto i ahau anō (Karihi).

It was they who planted the spirit inside me.

Similarly, Te Hata credits his decision to learn the Māori language to the guidance and support of ancestral forces.

Tērā pea ko tōku kuia, tōku kaitiaki, e kōhimuhimu nei ki ahau (Te Hata).

Perhaps it was my grandmother, my guardian, whispering to me.

The Māori language can also be seen as a link to ancestral generations. Awanui describes how becoming involved with the Māori language connected him with his ancestors.

I ruku tonu au. I ētehi wā ... i whakaaro au i roto i tētahi atu ao, nē? Kua tau mai ngā tūpuna ki aku taha (Awanui).

I kept diving. Sometimes ... I thought I was in another world, eh? The ancestors came to my side.

According to Karihi, becoming involved in learning the language is a process of ‘reacculturation’ to ancestral knowledge.

Mā te reo e āwhina i a rātou kia hoki atu ki aua momo kōrero a kui mā, a koro mā (Karihi).

The [Māori] language will help [second language learners] to return to those kinds of ancestral stories.

Here Kyle describes the Māori language as a path linking him to his ancestors who have passed on.

Koirā taku hiahia, kia mōhio ai ki ā rātou kōrero. Āe, me te whai i te huarahi o ōku mātua (Kyle).

And that’s my desire, to understand their speech. Yes, and to follow the path of my parents.²⁴⁹

It is interesting to note here that while the informants’ knowledge of the Māori language can’t be credited to intergenerational transmission, the impetus and desire to learn the language can be. That is, the idea of being inspired by parents, grandparents or ancestors allows the informants to link their use of the Māori language with preceding generations. An impetus is also provided through the idea that learning the language provides a connection with those who have passed on.

9.2.3.2 Language and culture

There is almost a metonymic relationship between a language and its culture (Ahlers 1999: 137).

In the Māori language this metonymic relationship can be seen in the phrase *te reo me ōna tikanga* (the language and its customs). In using this phrase the informants stress how important Māori culture is to their worldview. Here Karihi is talking about the time before he became

²⁴⁹ The word *matua* in Māori has a wider connotation than the English word *parents* in that it can refer to the whole of the parental generation, and even to grandparents and ancestors.

involved with the Māori language. The words he chooses shows veneration for the Māori language and its associated customs.

Engari i taua wā, i kore au i mōhio i tō tātou reo rangatira me ōna tikanga
(Karihi).

But at that time I didn't know our chiefly language and its customs.

Besides the phrase *te reo me ōna tikanga*, informants also use the word *tikanga* (customs) to refer to how knowing the Māori language will give access to Māori traditions and rituals.

Ka mōhio ki te kōrero Māori, ka mōhio hoki koe ki ētahi āhuatanga, ngā tikanga
(Stu).

If you know how to speak Māori, you will also know some aspects, the customs.

Some Māori cultural traditions are seen as only being accessible through the Māori language.

*Kāore e taea e te tangata te āta mārama ki wētahi tikanga Māori mehemea
kāore tērā tangata i te mōhio ki te kōrero Māori* (Watson).

A person can't really understand some Māori customs if he or she doesn't know how to speak Māori.

This speaker uses the canoe metaphor to make a similar point.

Ki a au nei ko te reo te waka e kawē ake ana i ngā tikanga (Hāriata).

I think that the language is a canoe which carries the customs.

Here Anaru uses the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS WATER to emphasise the esoteric nature of Māori language and customs.

Hōhonu ana te reo me ōna tikanga (Anaru).

The language and its customs are deep.

Not surprisingly, language and its customs are also associated with the ancestral generations.

*He whāngai taku pāpā ki tētahi atu whānau, ki ngā koroua, ki ngā kuia e
mōhiotia ana i te reo me ōna tikanga. Ā, koirā te waimarie hoki a taku pāpā*
(Piringākau).

My father was fostered to another family, to the male and female elders who knew the [Māori] language and its customs. And, that's how my father was lucky.

Considering these comments it is not surprising that a recent survey (Ahuriri-Driscoll 2007: 6) found that Māori with higher levels of ability in the Māori language were also more interested in Māori cultural practices. Quotes from the informants in this study confirm this finding. A worldview that venerates a heritage culture and associates it strongly with the heritage language is not only a feature of language revitalisation movements in other jurisdictions but is also a feature of newly-fluent speakers of Māori in the New Zealand context.

9.2.4 Kaupapa Māori – a Māori worldview

Observation of language revitalisation initiatives in many parts of the world reveals that such movements typically involve ‘larger ethnocultural goals’ (Fishman 1991: 18).

[Those engaged in language revitalisation] must realize that RLS²⁵⁰ is, essentially, a societal reform-effort that involves both the *abandonment* of widely accepted (but ideologically contra-indicated) cultural patterns and the attainment of their stipulated replacements (Fishman 1991: 19).²⁵¹

Thus, it is not surprising that similar aims are expressed as part of Māori language initiatives in New Zealand. Indeed, one of the aspects of the powerful worldview articulated by the informants in this study is revealed in their stated adherence to *kaupapa Māori* (Māori philosophy).²⁵² Tania Ka’ai defines the term ‘kaupapa Māori’ as follows:

This is a philosophical doctrine, incorporating the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values of Māori society that have emanated from a Māori metaphysical base. It informs Māori about the way in which they best develop physically, spiritually, emotionally, socially and intellectually as a people (Ka’ai 2004:207).

Kaupapa Māori developed out of the Tū Tangata initiatives of the 1980s which aimed at improving Māori social conditions through work and education schemes focussing on a Māori cultural perspective.²⁵³ The subsequent development of *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa Māori* education initiatives saw the articulation of what became known as kaupapa Māori through the idea that, besides being language revitalisation initiatives, these schooling options were a Māori-generated solution to low educational achievement in mainstream schooling. The pedagogy of *kōhanga reo* and *kura kaupapa Māori* was therefore conceived as being different to that in mainstream classes, and that difference was articulated through a vocabulary which mixed together Māori cultural aspects and New Age holism (see, for example, Ka’ai 2004). Kaupapa

²⁵⁰ Reversing Language Shift.

²⁵¹ Italics in original.

²⁵² The word *kaupapa* means ‘plan, scheme, proposal’ (Williams 1971: 107), ‘used in English contexts in senses of ‘private agenda’, ‘(personal) philosophy’ (Orsman 1997: 397).

²⁵³ The Tū Tangata initiatives are discussed in more detail in section 2.3.

Māori, or as it is sometimes also referred to, *mātauranga Māori*, became expressed through the mantra ‘for Māori, by Māori and in Māori’ (Black, Marshall & Irwin 2003: 4).²⁵⁴

The following quotes from the informants confirm adherence to a kaupapa Māori worldview.

He mea nui tērā ko te wairua kia eke ki runga i te kaupapa (Karihi).

That’s a really important thing, having the spirit to get on board the kaupapa.

The informants describe the Māori language as being an integral part of the kaupapa Māori philosophy. This sentiment is expressed by Piringākau who is talking about how others are aware of the philosophy of the Māori language immersion teachers’ programme he is part of.

Mōhio tonu rātou ki te kaupapa o tēnei kaupapa. Ko te reo (Piringākau).

They really know the philosophy of this kaupapa. It’s the language.

The schooling initiatives of kura kaupapa Māori are seen as part of a wider Māori worldview.

Nō reira, āhua waimarie rātou, ko ēnei tūmomo kaupapa hei āwhina, hei tautoko i a rātou i roto i tēnei kaupapa o tātou (Piringākau).

So, they are quite lucky, these sorts of kaupapa²⁵⁵ help, support them in this kaupapa of ours.

A kaupapa Māori worldview is often defined as adhering to beliefs which are in direct contrast to a Pākehā worldview. This is because ‘the inherent traits of Pākehā were the basis causes of an oppressive and unequal society, [and so] the virtues of Māori were critical for their resolution’ (Poata-Smith 1996: 107). This is illustrated by the following quote where Hāriata is describing what occupations her siblings have.

Kāore [ia] i te mahi i roto, i raro i te kaupapa Māori. Ko ia kē te mea e mahi ana mō Mobil. He mahi Pākehā kē tana mahi (Hāriata).

He doesn’t work in, under a Māori kaupapa. Instead he is the one working for Mobil. His job is a Pākehā one.

For the informants Māori language is strongly associated with a Māori worldview.

Kāore hoki he pūkenga tāku tua atu i tōku reo Māori me taku mahi whakaako i te reo Māori, whakawhiti whakaaro, whakarite kaupapa ki te reo Māori me ngā kaupapa Māori (Anaru).

²⁵⁴ This phrase is more commonly expressed as ‘by Māori, for Māori and in Māori’ or indeed just as ‘by Māori and for Māori.’

²⁵⁵ That is, initiatives such as kura kaupapa Māori.

I have no skill greater than my Māori language and my work teaching the Māori language, exchanging ideas, organising things in the Māori language, and Māori kaupapa.

Poutini describes a Māori-focused worldview as being a strong motivator.

I ngana ai au i ngā wā katoa te whai i ngā kaupapa Māori (Poutini).

I try hard all the time to follow Māori kaupapa.

Through the 1990s academic articulation of kaupapa Māori has emerged from two disciplines: educational theory and research methodology.²⁵⁶ In these forums kaupapa Māori is linked with aspirations for Māori sovereignty, as illustrated in this definition of kaupapa Māori by Graham Smith:

- the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted.
- the survival and revival of Māori language and Māori culture is imperative.
- the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well being, and over our own lives is vital to Māori survival (G. H. Smith 1992: 3).

The desire for autonomy is often articulated in even stronger ways.

Many Māori are no longer willing to participate in the cultural reproduction of mainstream education in New Zealand. They are engaging in a struggle to change the structure of a society which has historically oppressed them (Ka'ai 2004:213).

Like Tū Tangata before it, the aim of kaupapa Māori, as expressed by the academics above, is social change. However, as we shall see in the next section, the articulation of an adherence to kaupapa Māori by the informants does not necessarily encompass a wider aim for social change. While the quotes above show that the informants see themselves as part of a wider Māori language and culturally orientated grouping we shall see in the next section that their focus is on personal rather than societal change. In fact, the tension between a more personalised perspective of kaupapa Māori and a wider vision of social change was present at the beginnings of the Tū Tangata initiative, where an individual focus was recognised because

it's at the personal, individual level that Tū Tangata begins to work ("What is Tū Tangata?" 1979).

²⁵⁶ For articulations of kaupapa Māori in educational theory see Bishop and Glynn 1999 and in the area of research methodology, see Irwin 1994; L. T. Smith 1999 and Royal 1998.

A number of recent commentators (for example, Poata-Smith 1996; Hope 2006; Marie & Haig 2006 and Rata 2006) have challenged the efficacy of kaupapa Māori in bringing about social change, with Poata-Smith noting that philosophies such as kaupapa Māori have become

extremely persuasive ... throughout the 1980s, but rather than channelling Māori into greater political involvement, the introverted emphasis on Māori consciousness alone tended to lead Māori away from political activism (Poata-Smith 1996: 107).

Kaupapa Māori is an important part of the worldview of the informants but, for them it is not a worldview primarily focused on social change. Instead the informants have a more personalised perspective. The next section contains a more thorough investigation of the individual focus of the informants.

9.3 Individual focus by informants

Besides needing a strongly articulated and forceful worldview another aspect of the informants' experience is that it has a highly individualised focus. This often contrasts with views of the Māori language articulated by language planners and native speakers. The experience of the second language informants in this study also contrasts with experiences of those involved with endangered language in North America.

9.3.1 *Ko au tēnei* – 'This is me'

One informant, Rachael, when reflecting on her involvement with the Māori language, said *ko au tēnei* (this is me),²⁵⁷ in so doing completely identifying herself with the Māori language.

Eighteen of the informants were asked whether they felt that they were part of a language revitalisation movement. I started asking this question as a result of a conversation with a colleague, Te Rita Papesch. I had made a comment to her indicating that I felt part of a Māori language revitalisation movement and she replied that she didn't feel part of any such 'movement.' This exchange set me thinking and so I incorporated a question on the topic into many of the subsequent interviews. Although twelve informants ostensibly answered 'yes' to this question, in general their responses show they were hedged or diffident in their answers. In line with Te Rita's response, I could get very few informants to wholeheartedly agree that they felt part of a 'movement' that was solely focused on language revitalisation.

Since the informants were being interviewed about their experiences in becoming a fluent speaker of the Māori language, we might expect that the emphasis in their words will be on themselves and their own experience. However, even when invited to talk about a wider language revitalisation perspective, the informants tended to bring the conversation back to themselves. They were more comfortable talking about their own experience. The following quote demonstrates that the focus for newly-fluent adult speakers of Māori is primarily on themselves with a secondary focus on their family and students.

I āhua pērā te tipu mai o tōku hiahia mō tōku reo. I tīmata mai ki a au, you know, selfish noa iho, i te tīmatanga. ... So, ināianei, and i mua rā, kāore au i whai whakaaro mō te hunga kōrero Māori o te iwi Māori. Ki a au nei, ko wai rātou ki a au? Kāore rātou he paku aha ki a au. Engari, ko aku ākonga me aku hoa, ko rātou ngā mea whakahirahira ki a au (Anaru).

That's how my desire for my language grew. It began with me, you know, quite selfish, at the beginning. ... So, now, and before, I didn't think about the Māori

²⁵⁷ This comment was volunteered subsequent to the recorded interview.

speaking group within the wider Māori population. I think, who are they to me? They aren't anything to me. But, my students and my friends, they are the most important people to me.

That is, Anaru feels no responsibility to a wider grouping. His focus is on the immediate circle of people important to his life. To him the Māori language is *tōku reo*, 'my language', something that he relates to personally. The Māori language has a role in his life, but he does not presume to express that he has a role in regard to the Māori language. Or, in other words, the Māori language is more important to Anaru than he feels he is to the Māori language. Similarly, when asked about her role in revitalising the Māori language, Amīria's words echo Anaru's.

*I te whakaaro, he Māori wā mātou tamariki, me **whāngaihia** te reo ki a rātou.*

Kāore au i titiro mō tērā atu, mō te whakaora i tō tātou reo rangatira (Amīria).

I thought, our children are Māori, better feed the language to them. I didn't look at that, about revitalising our chiefly language.

As many of the informants were involved in tertiary study there was a good level of awareness about the academic literature on language revitalisation, in particular the work by Joshua Fishman. In this quote Karihi contrasts Fishman's wider perspective to his own personal perspective.

Good on him [Fishman]. But when you're in it [i.e. learning the Māori language], you kinda don't think of it that way. You think, gee, you just want the best for yourself. I mean, it's gotta start with yourself, and then feed out to others you know. I know I'd like my nieces and nephews to go to through the *kōhanga* and the *kura*, and stuff like that, cause I can see how good it is (Karihi).

Rau was more emphatic.

Kāore au e whai ki tētahi 'movement' (Rau).

I'm not following any 'movement.'

Rau continued on to say that learning the Māori language was her life choice, a decision made for her own benefit and that of her children.

No. This is for me. *Nōku tēnei ao*. So *nōku tēnei reo* (Rau).

No. This is for me. This is my world. So this is my language.

Hāriata felt that talk at the higher language revitalisation level didn't assist speakers of the language on the ground.

Ko te nuinga o ngā tāngata ka whakaako au, ko te mea nui ki a rātou ko tō rātou ake reo Māori. Nā reira, kāore pea rātou e mārāma ki tēnei āhuatanga, te whakapakari whānui i te reo Māori. Ki a rātou, 'Karekau tōku reo Māori me whakapakari i a au anō ... ehara hoki te revitalisation he tautoko mai i a au' (Hāriata).

For the majority of people I teach, the most important thing to them is their own Māori language. Therefore, they are probably not aware of this thing, the wider revitalisation of the Māori language. They think, 'I don't have any Māori language so I'd better strengthen myself ... it's not as if revitalisation supports me.'

That is, the informants' focus is on their own engagement with the language, then spreading outwards to their family, students and friends. In all cases, their focus is on people who are part of their life. These results tie in with the results of an Auckland survey of Māori which also revealed an individual focus amongst those surveyed.

About one in every three of the 74 (of a total of 91) key informants who specified who they would turn to for assistance in achieving well-being, said: 'myself'. ... About the same proportion of participants emphasized the importance of the whānau as a source of support (Benton et al. 2002: 35).

This type of result gives more nuance to a viewpoint that Māori are more communally focused than Pākehā, a typical viewpoint from the late 1980s being that Pākehā society 'stresses individualism' while Māori society 'stresses communalism' (Curtis 1992: 4&5). It seems that on a day-to-day basis many Māori are relatively self-reliant and self-focused.

Nevertheless the informants in the present study also talked about wider perspectives. Three informants felt that if they were part of a wider movement that didn't just involve Māori language. One felt that a focus just on the language was too narrow, instead language revival was part of a wider Māori focused 'movement' which included Māori culture.

Ki a au nei, ko te oranga, te oranga tonutanga o te reo Māori, he wāhanga tēnā o tētahi kaupapa whānui noa atu i tēnā. Koia tēnā te Māoritanga. Āe! Ka taea te kī he movement, engari ki a au nei, he wāhanga o tētahi movement nui noa atu i tēnā (Watson).

In my opinion the survival, the continued survival of the Māori language, that's part of a much bigger idea. And that's Māoritanga. Yes! You can call it a movement, but to me, it's part of a much bigger movement.

Two informants were also aware of an involvement of Māori in the international indigenous peoples movement. There have been a number of international indigenous conferences over the last 15 years sparked by the UN Year of Indigenous People in 1993 which segued into the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1995-2004), since followed by the Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (2005-2014). Māori have also been involved in the World Indigenous Peoples Conferences on Education (WIPCE) held every three years since 1987, and hosted in New Zealand in 2005.

That big movement forward about, not only the language, but understanding, you know, becoming strong. It's all indigenous people, around the world, yeah (Karihi).

Others responded 'yes' to the question about being part of a movement through what seemed an intellectualisation of the situation, rather than from any passionate feeling that they belonged to a 'movement.'

Just thinking, maybe I'm a part of it anyway ... from choosing to send the boys to [kura kaupapa Māori] (Hinemanina).

Only two informants answered with an emphatic passion, Rachael's emphatic answer being based on her experience as a teacher. However, this feeling of being part of a movement is more overtly focused on the Māori language.

Yes, especially because I've started teaching Māori as well and I really, really enjoy doing it, but that's one exciting thing that you really feel like you're part of something that's real and breathing life into something that had lost so much (Rachael).

Sharon used the canoe metaphor and the phrase 'tū tangata',²⁵⁸ coined as part of Puketapu's reforms in the 1980s, to convey her viewpoint.

Āe. Nā taku tūnga pouako ka whakaaro pērā ahau. Nā, ko tāku ināianeī kia manaaki, kia poipoia ā tātou tamariki, mokopuna. You know, 'Haere mai, kei konei te waka, haere mai ki te eke ki runga i te waka, kia ahu whakamua tātou.' Kia tū kaha rātou, kia tū mai a rātou, kia tū tangata, kia tū Māori. Kia whakaponu hoki rātou ka taea e rātou i ngā mea katoa e hiahia ana e rātou (Sharon).

²⁵⁸ This phrase 'has been translated as "the stance of the people" and "stand tall"' ("What is Tū Tangata?" 1979). Puketapu's reforms are discussed in section 2.3.

Yes. Through my position as a teacher I think like that. And, what I do now is to care for, encourage our children and grandchildren. You know, ‘Come here, here is the canoe, come and get on board the canoe so we can all head forward.’ So they can stand strong, so they can stand up, stand tall, stand as Māori. And so they can believe that they can do all the things they want to.

Sharon is referring to how previous low Māori achievement levels in the schooling system are being improved with more Māori focused schooling options. These options are based on the idea that improving a child’s self-esteem improves his or her level of participation and achievement in the schooling system. Accordingly Sharon’s answer is focused on her role as a teacher in raising the self-esteem of young Māori and helping them develop a strong Māori identity. Although she answers ‘yes’ to the idea of being part of a movement, her explanation reveals that she is not talking about a movement which focuses on revitalising the Māori language, rather the aim is social change through change brought about with individual children.

As noted by Francesca Merlan in her study of indigenous movements in Australia the word ‘movement’ is a metaphor in itself which focuses ‘attention on social change and transformation’ (Merlan 2005: 474). The word ‘movement’ is appropriate for initiatives like *kōhanga reo* which were motivated by the desire for social change. However, for the informants in this study, the word ‘movement’ is not so appropriate, if Merlan’s definition is used. While their beliefs about and relationship with the Māori language appear to mark them out as a group, the informants largely eschew the idea that their purpose is social change, instead their responses indicate that most are focused on individual change.

The next section compares the perspective of the informants with that of tribal and national Māori language planners.

9.3.2 The rhetoric of language planners

The largely individualised perspective as expressed by the participants has implications for language planners in New Zealand in that it contrasts with the sort of rhetoric often used by tribal and national language commentators. Language planners quite naturally focus on the language and its health, which is revealed in, for example, the title of a Te Puni Kōkiri publication (2002c) entitled *Survey of the Health of the Māori Language in 2001*. In this focus on the language its speakers are often seen only as instruments for maintaining the viability of the language, that is, speakers are mostly of interest in terms of what they can do for the language. Such rhetoric typically describes the commitment needed by individuals in order to revitalise language. For

example, former Māori Language Commissioners Tīmoti Kāretu and Patu Hōhepa have both made numerous comments arguing that ‘the revitalization of a language is dependent on the will of its speakers’ (Kāretu, quoted in Kirkness 2002: 19) and that ‘the ultimate moral responsibility for [the Māori language’s] continuation as a spoken language is with us who are Māori. ... Use it or lose it.’ (P. Hōhepa 2000: 14). Both Kāretu and Hōhepa are native speakers of Māori and although these statements stress that the primary objective of Māori people should be to the language it is also clear that the cohort they are particularly aiming these remarks at are the older native speaking population.

Nevertheless the idea that those who can speak Māori have an obligation to the language is prevalent in the Māori language planning community. The following quote comes from a recent publication reporting the results of a survey of fifty second language speakers of Māori, respondents of a similar background to the informants in the present study. In reporting the results of interviews with the parents with medium to high fluency in Māori Chrisp made the following statement.

Some participants appeared to lack urgency and appreciation of their role in Māori intergenerational transmission (Chrisp 2005: 177).

Chrisp seems surprised at this result, but in light of the findings here it is totally unsurprising. Newly-fluent speakers of Māori are more aware of how the Māori language benefits them rather than vice versa.

This view can be demonstrated through the use of a further metaphor. Figure 9.2 is a photograph of trees in a forest illustrating the adage about not being able to ‘see the wood for the trees.’ The wood, or forest, is the Māori language; the trees are the individual speakers. The informants in this study are individual trees in a forest of Māori speakers. They are concerned about their own well-being and that of their friends and family in their immediate vicinity. They can’t see that the health of the forest, of the Māori language, relies on them. That is, they ‘can’t see the wood for the trees.’



Figure 9.2. Pine trees at Bottle Lake Forest Park, Christchurch.

However, we can also turn this adage around and talk about people who ‘can’t see the trees for the wood.’ Language planners are like foresters who are interested in maintaining the health of the forest as a whole. They take an aerial view of the forest and are not so cognisant of the experience of the individual trees. It is entirely appropriate for language planners to examine and comment on language as a whole but the data provided by newly-fluent speakers of Māori in this study allows for a more nuanced perspective. Telling these speakers that they must speak the language so it won’t die, or emphasising the role they have in the revitalisation of the language may not be as effective as reversing the emphasis and reinforcing the importance the language has for their identity as Māori, and for their ongoing spiritual health.

9.3.3 Native speakers

The analysis of the LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE metaphor in Chapter 4 revealed that although this metaphor is widespread, and overtly agreed to by most people, the fact that the image involves reification of the Māori language means that the metaphor has more import for native speakers of Māori. The metaphors preferred by the informants in this study revolve around the idea of personal transformation. The following sub-section contains a brief analysis of another metaphor used by native speakers which is discussed here to provide further illustration of the difference between the perspective of native speakers of Māori and that of newly-fluent adult speakers.

9.3.3.1 Language is a building

Although not used by the informants in this study, there are occasional examples in other Māori sources of the Māori language being referred to as a building, most specifically a meeting house. Structural elements of the meeting house are equated to various groups or values whose existence is required for the whole structure to maintain its form and function. Figure 9.3 is a typical stylised drawing of a meeting house showing the sloping roof beams and side posts.

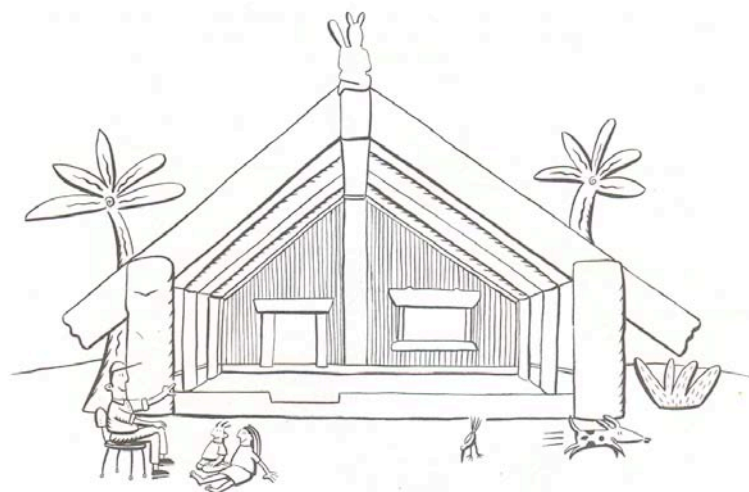


Figure 9.3. Drawing of a meeting house (Moorfield 2001b: 169).

Because the meeting house is the focal point for ceremonies which carry a great deal of cultural weight, the image also carries connotations of Māori language and culture. Hirini Melbourne describes part of the appeal of this image as being the symbolic link with the past.

The *whare whakairo* is a a [sic] complex image of the essential continuity between the past and present that indicates how contemporary writing in the Māori language might express the world of the Māori people (Melbourne 1991: 133).

This image has also been used in specific reference to the Māori language. In a three part television series on the Māori language first broadcast in 2004, Tīmoti Kāretu used the metaphor of a *whare*, house, to present the story of the Māori language. The series was entitled *He Whare Kōrero* (A House of Speech). In his words of introduction at the beginning of the first episode Kāretu uses the image of a meeting house in an extended metaphor.

Tēnā koutou tātou i tō tātou whare e whakatūria nei e tātou e kiia nei ko te whare o te kōrero. Ko tōna tāhuhu ko te reo, ko ōna heke ko ngā āhuatanga e ahu mai ana i te reo, ko ngā poupou hoki ko tātou e tū nei. E mārama ana hoki tātou e ū ai te tū o te whare me titi pai ngā poupou ki te whenua. Waihoki e ū ai tēnei reo ki tēnei whenua, ki tēnei ao, me kaha hoki tātou ki te kōrero. Kei tēnā tangata anō, kei tēnā tangata anō tōna whare kōrero, tāna whakamahi i te kupu, tāna whakatakoto i te kupu, tāna whiū i te kupu. Nō reira, nau mai tātou ki tō tātou whare o te kōrero ki konei tātou hangā anō ai tētahi whare e whakahīhi ai tātou i tōna wā (Kāretu, in Stephens 2004).

Greetings to us all in our house which we have built which is called the house of speech. Its ridgepole is the language, its rafters are those things which come from the language, and the pillars are us who are standing here. We are well aware

that for a house to stand the pillars must be properly inserted into the ground. Similarly for this language to be fixed in this land and in this world we must be strong at speaking it. Each person has his or her own house of speech, the way they employ words, put them together and how they toss them about. So, welcome to us all to our house of speech and let us build a house of which we can be proud of in the future.

The use of this image of a house also ties in with the emphasis in language planning literature in New Zealand on the importance of the home in successful language revitalisation.²⁵⁹

The image of the Māori language being a house emphasises language as an overarching entity of which the speakers are part. This image contrasts with that used by our informants who see the Māori language as being part of them rather than vice versa. In addition the LANGUAGE IS A BUILDING metaphor, like the LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE metaphor, reifies the language. Accordingly, the LANGUAGE IS A BUILDING metaphor has more import for native speakers of the language and not the newly-fluent informants whose relationship with the Māori language is quite different.

9.3.4 North American comparisons

There appears to be a difference between the way the commitment of newly-fluent speakers of heritage languages is expressed in North America compared with New Zealand. In situations such as those which prevail with regard to many Native American languages where there are few speakers, the emphasis of the metaphors tends to be on the benefits for the language.

An example is provided in the genesis of the nomenclature for the Californian 'Breath of Life: Silent No More' programme to resurrect languages which have had no speakers for several generations. L. Frank Manriquez in a workshop on the Californian language situation at the Ninth Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference told how when the programme began, the senior linguist, Leanne Hinton, wrote a poem about the devoted individuals working hard to resurrect their languages, describing them as a kind of 'Lonely Hearts Language Club' (Hinton 1992: 31). However, in choosing a final name for the programme the participants themselves preferred the name 'Breath of Life: Silent No More.' Here the language and culture is likened to a deceased loved one, being brought back to life and speaking again. What is interesting is that the

²⁵⁹ For example, see publications such as *The Use of Māori in the Family* (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002c) and the booklet *Kei Roto i te Whare* (Te Puni Kōkiri 2001). The focus on intergenerational language transmission is discussed in section 2.5.

participants themselves chose a name for their programme which emphasised the benefits to the language, in preference to an image centered on the experience of the individual.²⁶⁰

Hathorn reports from an Echota Cherokee language survey, when asked why respondents wanted to learn Cherokee they rated 'keeping Cherokee tradition alive' most frequently as their primary incentive (Hathorn 1997: 231-2). Fishman has also commented on how people often feel a responsibility towards their heritage language, with people admitting to him,

'I should do something. I should do more for it. I haven't done the right thing by it. I'm glad I'm working for it,' as if there were a kind of a moral commitment here and a moral imperative (Fishman 1996: 83).

That is, the respondents recognised and emphasized their role in keeping their language and culture alive. Indeed, in the Californian Master-Apprentice programme, one criteria for selection of apprentices is their commitment to passing on the knowledge they will learn to others (Nancy Steele, personal communication, 12 June 2002). In these sorts of language situations, with smaller numbers of speakers and learners, any learner will be quite aware of their role in revitalising their language.

Compare this to the New Zealand situation where, when asked as to why they wanted to learn Māori, respondents consistently replied, 'because we are Māori, because our children are Māori' (Te Puni Kōkiri 2002c: 31). Although the survey methodologies were different it still seems apparent that, unlike the Cherokee respondents above, Māori are not primarily motivated by personal responsibility for the language but by perceived benefits to themselves as individuals, and their families. With so many Māori learning the language, survival of the language does not depend on the efforts of any one individual. Therefore learners will express their motivation in a more personal way.

In other words, with regard to metaphors employed in describing relationships with indigenous languages, the more people that know and are learning the language, the more the beneficial effect on the individual is emphasised. Conversely, the fewer people that know and are learning the language the more the beneficial effect on the language is emphasised.

²⁶⁰ Of course, the reference to being 'silent no more' can also apply to the individual as well as the language, but it is clear from rhetoric used by L. Frank Manriquez that the primary focus is on the language rather than the individual.

9.4 Summary

I believe that Māoritanga is located within every Māori regardless of appearance or the story which has brought them to this part of their life and this expression of Māoriness. Māoritanga is a place of the wairua and is integral to the life of each Māori (Ramsden 1993: 351).

This quote contains many of the themes relating to our newly-fluent adult informants that have been explored in this chapter. The idea that Māoritanga (and Māori language) are contained within every Māori draws on ideas of New Age humanism and the focus on the individual. The statement that ‘Māoritanga is a place of the wairua’ extols a quasi-religious worldview. Overall, the quote is redolent of aspects of kaupapa Māori, a Māori focused and controlled worldview.

We have seen in this chapter that the informants do indeed have a powerful worldview, one that allows them to move from a state of being without Māori language and culture to one where these become important and ongoing aspects of their lives. We have also seen that there is an individualised perspective to the informants’ experience, one which differs from others also involved in the language revitalisation process. The informants’ experience can be encapsulated in the phrase ‘personal transformation.’ Each of these two words relates back to the two hypotheses explored in this chapter, in that the powerful worldview of the informants largely revolves around the concept of ‘transformation’ and the focus on the individual can be encapsulated in the word ‘personal.’

Just as 19th century Māori engaged with the great ideas of modernity: Christianity and the rhetoric of state, the informants in this study are engaged with the great ideas of post-modernity. These ideas are strongly influenced by both the Bible and the language of humanist and New Age rhetoric. They allow the informants to draw close and find inspiration from ancestors despite the fact that they are not the recipients of intergenerational transmission of language and culture. The informants are also influenced by the ideas of kaupapa Māori (Māori-orientated and controlled initiatives) but the perspective is an individualised one which has as its goal personal, rather than social, change.

The final chapter looks at the implications of these findings for tribal and national language planners in New Zealand as well as implications for language revitalisation more generally.

Chapter 10: Conclusion

And what of the Māori metaphors, our fish, the outrigger waka? Can they give order and shape to Māori society as the borders get closer and the frontier narrows? (Ramsden 1993:348).

As this thesis has demonstrated, the answer to Ramsden's question is yes. Metaphors, particularly the Māori metaphor of the canoe, do give order and shape to the experiences of the newly-fluent adult Māori informants in this study. In New Zealand the current metaphors used with regard to the Māori language include:

- i) The LANGUAGE IS A TREASURE, a metaphor which reifies the language. This is an important metaphor in the vaunted aim of returning to a state of intergenerational transmission of the Māori language. We have seen in chapter 4 and section 9.3.3 that this metaphor appeals more to a native speaker since it reflects their experience of receiving the language from parents and elders in a community situation. This metaphor also appeals to language planners whose focus is often on the overall health of the Māori language.
- ii) The LANGUAGE IS A PATH, LANGUAGE IS A CANOE, LANGUAGE IS FOOD, and the LANGUAGE LEARNER IS A PLANT metaphors²⁶¹ are used to reflect engagement with the language through a personal, conscious relationship. These metaphors express the experience of the newly-fluent adult speakers of Māori in New Zealand and, as metaphors of transformation and growth, enable them to stress the ongoing, transformative nature of learning and speaking Māori.

The entailments and connotations of the metaphors used by the newly-fluent adult informants in this study describe and evoke a powerful worldview which allows them to maintain a continuing engagement with the Māori language. This worldview has a number of characteristics drawn from aspects of current Māori and Western popular culture. The informants describe a relationship with the Māori language that has a religious intensity and draws on aspects of New Age humanism. This worldview maintains links with Māori culture and ancestors as well as adherence to kaupapa Māori. The informants' use of metaphor also reveals an individual focus which contrasts with much of the rhetoric of native speakers and language planners in New Zealand.

²⁶¹ These metaphors were studied in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 respectively.

The historical approach of the analysis reveals that the informants' experiences do not exist in a vacuum, rather these newly-fluent adults are the inheritors of a rich history and tradition of metaphorical application and innovation. Like their ancestors before them, they weave together traditional and modern metaphorical source domains and apply them to their present condition.

Of the four main metaphors used by the informants one stands out as being different from the rest, and that is the conceptual metaphor LANGUAGE IS A CANOE. The difference lies in the fact that the metaphorical use of canoes does not have biblical antecedents. The historical analysis in chapter six showed that Māori have continued to use and develop the source domain of canoes over two centuries of colonisation to provide a wholly indigenous metaphor which draws on traditional Māori connotations and applies them to modern situations.

The results of this thesis suggest a number of recommendations for language planners, both in New Zealand and overseas situations. Firstly, to determine language promotion strategies and support initiatives it would be beneficial to differentiate the experiences of different sets of speakers in differently targeted campaigns. Secondly, it is important to research in-depth locally to accurately determine the parameters of each local situation.

Applying the first recommendation to the New Zealand situation, when determining language promotion and support strategies, there are currently at least three different and important cohorts who have different relationships to the Māori language. For the native speaker of Māori the supportive rhetoric should be on the image of language as a treasure and passing the language on, and ensuring the Māori language survives. That is, their important role in intergenerational transmission should be emphasized.

The newly-fluent Māori-speaking adult also has a key role in intergenerational transmission as parents, and often the teachers, of the children being educated in the Māori language schooling system. The results from this thesis suggest that strategies for fostering their participation in language revitalisation may benefit from emphasizing their experience of being empowered and transformed spiritually and emotionally through their involvement with, and use of, the Māori language. That is, instead of focussing on what these adults can do for the language, there is a need to focus on the benefits for the language learner and speaker in speaking Māori. Such an approach can reinforce and endorse the informants' experience.

The type of analysis undertaken in this study is an important first step in understanding a cohort which is often less studied, in order to tailor initiatives to support and sustain their continued

commitment to speaking the Māori language. For, as a former Māori language Commissioner has noted with respect to revitalising the Māori language, ‘the statistical group with the most needs is in the 20-55 age ranges’ (P. Hōhepa 2000:12).

We don’t really know as yet how younger speakers brought up with the language envisage the Māori language. A campaign ‘Te Hono ki te Reo’, which included television advertisements in Māori language aimed at the younger demographic, focused on how ‘it’s cool to kōrero’ (it’s cool to speak the language) (Simpson 2000:1). More work is needed to determine the relationship this cohort of speakers has with the Māori language. Again, it is likely, given the findings on the intermediate generation, that this new generation of fluent bilinguals will manifest its own idiosyncrasies.

Metaphors reflect the experiences of different cohorts of speakers and native speakers, second-language learners and those working with extremely endangered languages use different metaphors in different ways. In each situation speakers will choose metaphors that are appropriate to the meaning they wish to convey and the significance of the language for them. Differences in metaphor use also exist between various languages according to the number of speakers or learners a language has. Analysis of these metaphors can help us understand epistemological underpinnings to people’s relationships with their heritage languages and can enable us to more precisely focus language revitalisation strategies, particularly with regard to marketing.

The results from the current analysis are likely not to be relevant in other situations of language revitalisation but the thesis does demonstrate the importance of looking in depth at the local situation, using a careful case study to inform local practice (as per Flyvbjerg 2001). This study also demonstrates the benefits of accessing the less overt motives of informants through interviews and shows that metaphorical language can often play an important role in revealing their beliefs and motivations.

Viewing language shift from the individual motivation perspective is crucial to the understanding of language shift (Karan 2000: 74).

Those of us involved in revitalizing indigenous languages can recognise the symbiotic relationship between language and individuals in the adage:

language revitalises the person

the person revitalises the language

Both processes occur in language revitalisation, since being involved in language revitalisation benefits both the individual and the language. However, in studying how we use metaphors to describe our relationship with heritage languages we see that in different situations it will be more appropriate to stress one part of this maxim more than the other.

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Appendix 1: Information Sheet (Māori and English versions)

WHAKAMĀRAMATANGA

Tēnā koe,

He tono tēnei ki te āwhina i te mahi rangahau e pā ana ki te whakaoranga o te reo Māori i waenga i te hunga pakeke.

Ko te whainga o tēnei rangahau kia kitea te āhua o te reo Māori; e kōrerohia i whea, ki a wai, kia taea pea te mōhio me pēhea te tautoko kia noho ai te reo Māori hei reo tuatahi i roto i te kāinga.

Ko tō mahi i roto i tēnei rangahau he kōrero i runga i te rīpene hopu kōrero mō ērā āhuatanga e pā ana ki tō kōrero i te reo rangatira.

Ka whakatāngia ngā kitekitenga o tēnei mahi rangahau, engari ka noho muna tō ingoa ki ahau, ki a koe.

Ko te kaiwhakahaere o tēnei rangahau ko Jeanette, ko te nama waea (03) 364-2987, peka 8592. Waea mai, menā he āwangawanga ōu e pā ana ki te mahi nei.

Kua tirohia tēnei mahi rangahau e te Komiti Human Ethics o Te Whare Wānanga o Waitaha.

Kia ora mō tō āwhina mai.

Jeanette King

INFORMATION

You are invited to participate in a research project concerned with Māori language revitalisation amongst adults.

The aim of this research is to investigate aspects of Māori language; where and to whom it is spoken, in order to discover how it might be possible to support speakers so that the Māori language might become the main home language.

Your involvement in this research project will involve an tape-recorded interview about certain aspects of your use of Māori.

The results of this project will be published, but complete confidentiality is assured.

This research is being carried out by Jeanette who can be contacted on (03) 364-2987, extn. 8592. Please ring if you have any concerns about this project.

This project has been reviewed by the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee.

Thank you for your help.

Jeanette King

Appendix 2: Consent Form (Māori and English versions)

PEPA WHAKAAE

Te Reo o te Hunga Pakeke

Kua pānuitia e au te whakamāramatanga o te mahi rangahau nei. I runga i ēnei ka whakaae ahau ki te kōrero mō tēnei kaupapa, ā, ka whakaae hoki ahau kia whakatāngia ngā kitekitenga o tēnei mahi rangahau i runga i te mōhiotanga ka noho muna taku ingoa. Ka mōhio hoki ahau ka taea e au te whakaputa atu i tēnei mahi menā ko tērā taku pīrangī, ka taea hoki te tango atu i tērā i kōrerohia e au.

Waitohu:

Rā:

Wāhi noho:

CONSENT FORM

Adult use of Māori

I have read the description of this research project. On this basis I give my consent to be interviewed on this topic, and I also consent to publication of the results of this research on the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I also understand that I can withdraw from this project at any time should I so decide, and that any information I have provided can also be withdrawn.

Signed:

Date:

Address:

Glossary of Māori words

<i>iwi</i>	tribe
<i>kapa haka</i>	Māori performing arts
<i>karakia</i>	prayer
<i>kaumātua</i>	elder, usually male
<i>kaupapa</i>	worldview, philosophy, agenda, issue
<i>kaupapa Māori</i>	Māori philosophical agenda, see section 9.2.4
<i>kōhanga reo</i>	Māori immersion preschool, literally ‘language nest’
<i>koru</i>	a curved shape, like an uncurling fern frond
<i>kuia</i>	female elder
<i>kura kaupapa Māori</i>	primary level Māori immersion school
<i>kura reo</i>	a type of wānanga reo held by the Māori Language Commission
<i>mana</i>	authority, prestige, influence, power or control
<i>Māori</i>	the name of the indigenous people of New Zealand as well as their language
<i>Māoritanga</i>	Māori traditions, practices and beliefs
<i>marae</i>	meeting area for a Māori social group, which includes a meeting house used for formal ceremonies
<i>mauri</i>	life essence, life principle
<i>mōteatea</i>	traditional sung poetry such as <i>oriori</i> , <i>waiata aroha</i> and <i>waiata tangi</i>
<i>Ngā Tamatoa</i>	a movement of young Māori in the 1970s focussed on Māori language and land issues
<i>ohākī</i>	deathbed speech to family and/or tribe
<i>oriori</i>	traditional lullaby
<i>Pākehā</i>	New Zealander of European descent
<i>reo</i>	language
<i>taonga</i>	treasure, possession
<i>Te Puni Kōkiri</i>	The Ministry of Māori Development, formerly called the Department of Māori Affairs
<i>te reo Māori</i>	the Māori language
<i>Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori</i>	Māori Language Commission
<i>tipuna/tīpuna</i>	grandparent/s, ancestor/s
<i>tupuna/tūpuna</i>	grandparent/s, ancestor/s
<i>tūrangawaewae</i>	‘a place to stand’, one’s tribal homeland

<i>Tū Tangata</i>	a programme of social development advanced by the Department of Māori Affairs in the late 1970s, early 1980s, see section 2.3
<i>waiata aroha</i>	song of romantic yearning
<i>waiata tangi</i>	song of lament
<i>waka</i>	canoe
<i>wānanga</i>	Māori focussed tertiary educational institution
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy
<i>whānau</i>	family, including ‘extended family’